THE Sage Senator:

Or, An

EXACT CHARACTER OF A Prudent States-man:

Wherein is asserted,

The Excellency of MONARCHY, and the Inconsistency Of { ANARCHY, ARISTOCRACY, DEMOCRACY, With the true Rules of Government.

ALSO,

A Discourse of Kings and Kingdoms, Republicks and States Popular:

To which is annexed,

The New Models of Modern Policy.

Fear God, and honour the King, 1 Pet. chap. 2. vers. 17.

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To the Reader.

THere are few or none (I preſume) even among the Vulgar, but underſtand that Republique or Kingdom to be moſt happy, that lives moſt peaceably : Yet what doth moſt conduce to the Welfare and Felicity of King and People, hath been long debated by the Ancient as well as Modern Philoſophers, and Politicians.

Some are of opinion, that good Laws work and frame the people to a civil life; others think it lies in the power of good Education : ſome imagine that it proceeds from the Influence and Operation of the Stars upon ſublunary Bodies ; and others, from the Endeavors and Examples of good Kings. To the laſt, we ſubſcribe : for the peace and tranquillity of a Nation proceeds primarily from the ſplendor of Princely Vertues; which are ſo glorious and attra-

&tive, that they do not onely incite the Subject to gaze on them, but with an extaſied admiration, to adore and affect them, ſo that they are ſtimulated to an imitation, as far as in them lies: and when Prince and People mutually labour in the purſuit of Vertue (*pro viribus*, as we ſay) according to the utmoſt extent of their ability, how can there chuſe but be a reſult of Unanimity, Peace and Concord? To perfect this, 'tis requiſite that a Senate be elected; which is a certain number of grave, wiſe, diſcreet Perſons, that may help their Soveraign to pull in or ſlacken the reins of Government, according as 'tis judg'd convenient; by the Nobility of whoſe Perſons, and the Prudence of whoſe Conſultations, married to the Judgement of the King, rhe quiet and glory of the People is infinitely promoted and preſerved. To which intent and purpoſe, we have here deciphered *A SAGE SENATOR*, with all qualifications tending to his Perfection; his Office, Duty, Honour, Preferment and Repute among the Ancients, as well as thoſe of latter Ages; firſt aſſerting, and then proving their neceſſity, and the benefit that accrews to a Kingdom or Republike from their grave and ſerious Debates in Counſel, and their

their induſtrious management of political Affairs. By ſuch Union between King and Council, Prince and People; the whole Nation will undoubtedly flouriſh with a perpetual Verdure, as if an immortal peace were entail'd upon them and their poſterity for ever; Laws will have their full force and efficacie, as well for the puniſhment of Malefactors, as the Reward of honourable deſerving Perſons: Juſtice will run in its proper current, and not be diverted to ſiniſter and baſe ends, by lucre or ſelf-intereſt; two Hammers that are able to knock a Kingdom in pieces. Learning will be advanced, and the Learned promoted according to their merit and deſert: without this, no Kingdom can ſtand; take away the Pen, and the Pike will be unneceſſary. 'Twas the Saying of a potent Monarch, That, *He received more benefit from his dead, then living Counſellours*; intimating thereby, that his Library did afford him better Counſel then his Senate. Learning and Senators, like *Hippocrates* his Twins, are inſeparable; they cannot dwell aſunder; eſpecially in ſuch a one as is here deſcribed. And though I am ſufficiently ſenſible, that a diſcourſe of thoſe Qualities that are required in a Perfect Politician, is, not onely

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a work of great Importance, but attended by a Troop of oppoſing Difficulties: Yet I have endeavored to diſplay the Ancient Government of the moſt famous Kingdoms, Republiques and States Popular, according to the Statutes, Laws and Cuſtoms of the moſt potent, as well as prudent Monarchs. And my hope is, (though my imbecility can lay no claim to merit) that my earneſt deſire to promote the publick good, will plead my excuſe; and I am confident, there is no perſon that is unprejudiced, if commonly courteous, but will accept of my humble Devoirs; which is the very highth of the Authors Deſires; who at this preſent hath no more to ſay, but bid thee, Reader,

Farewel,

J. G.

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THE

THE Sage Senator.

Book I.

CHAP. I.

Of Senators in General, their Original and Neceſsity.

E that ſweateth in the purſuit of thoſe ſtudies that conduce to private recreation, as well as publike emolument, perſonates and repreſents a grave wiſe man; and merits the general applauſe of all perſons: For,

Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci.

And (if I may be a competent Judge) there is no Science accompanied with more delight to the Student, or benefit to the Commonwealth into which he is incorporated, than that of Government: wherefore being sufficiently convinced, that all the transactions of a well-regulated State are managed by solid reason, mature deliberation, and sound judgement, not by wavering opinion, uncertain fate, or fantastique fortune; I have made the original of Senators, their duty, dignity, internal and external qualifications, the Theme on which I intend to expatiate in general in this first Book: But more particularly in this Chapter, of the original cause of their institution or creation. For the performance of that task which I have voluntarily imposed upon my self, I have dived into the depth of civil knowledge, and pried into the *Arcana* of Philosophy; collecting whatsoever hath been related, penned, or experimentally known heretofore, either by Academick Learning, Parliaments in Commonweals, Policy in Government, or History.

But

But to begin: Man, the perfection of the Creation, was not made a Citizen or Inhabitant of this World only, but Lord Paramount over all Creatures that have a being within the compaſs of the terreſtrial Globe: This authority and dignity was conferred upon him by the ſupreme Governour of Heaven and earth, who hath deſcended ſo far below his ſacred Self, as to make him his Co-partner in Government, adorning him with divine underſtanding; to the intent, that the Scepter of this terrene Empire may be ſwayed by his Reaſon and Counſel. The cauſe of this counion of Government between God and Man, proceeds from Reaſon; which being perfect, makes Man capable of imitating Almightineſs; ſo that it appears, there is a kind of near alliance or conſanguinity between the Creator and the Creature, who ſometimes is made God's Vicegerent upon earth: yet without divine aſſiſtance, no reaſon or counſel can be termed good, or perfect: For, the ſeed of this glimmering reſemblance of a Deity planted in Man, if it light on fertile ground, and that happen to meet with good culture, produceth a crop according to the expectation of the Cœleſtial Planter; otherwiſe, it is like corn

caſt into a barren ſoyl; whoſe product is nothing but brambles, thorns, or thiſtles. Thus then Man being reduced to a ſenſe or feeling of thoſe ſparks of divinity that lie latent in him, ſhould be wrought to a perſwaſion, that he hath the Character or *Idæa* of a Deity in his mind; the impreſſion of the Creator's holy Image ſtamped on his ſoul; and ought thereupon to be ſo induſtrious in the employment of his talent, and the management of his affairs, that his actions may ſpeak him worthy, in ſome ſenſe, of ſo heavenly a favour beſtowed on him. Yet, though he be made God's aſſociate (as it were) he muſt return him the glory, to whom it properly and primarily belongs; and acknowledge all authority to flow from him, as from the Fountain: For, as brute Animals are not governed by Animals, but by an Herdſman; no more can Man rule or govern Man, without the aſſiſtance and protection of Providence divine. And ſhould any man be ſo ſordidly ignorant, or atheiſtically prophane, as to undertake the Government of any Country or Nation, without divine knowledge or aſſiſtance; it muſt neceſſarily follow, that that State, Commonwealth, or Kingdom, and every Member thereof,

thereof, be implunged into an Ocean of miſery and infelicity: For, it is in vain to build upon the imagined welfare of a State, or Kingdom, if God be not the Protector and Patron thereof. It is then as conſpicuous as the Meridian Sun, that all vertue, wiſdom and goodneſs owes its original to God; which did inſtigate the purblind, or rather pure-blind Heathen, that had only the ruſh-candle of Nature, to conſecrate publike Temples to Vertue, Faith, Concord, Wiſdom, Peace, *&c.* And if *Ovid* the Ethnick durſt be ſo bold, well may we then *à fortiori* affirm, and maintain,

Eſt Deus in nobis, agitante caleſcimus illo;
Spiritus hic ſacræ lumina mentis habet.

It is therefore our duty to endeavour the deſerving a more noble title than that of meer Man, and ſtrenuouſly to labour in the purſuit of Underſtanding, that flies a higher pitch, than either humanity or morality dare aſpire unto; that ſo, if poſſible, we may ſurpaſs all our Anceſtors, and live according to the dictates of that which hath the greateſt ſupremacy in us, *viz.* Reaſon; by vertue whereof, we are made ſenſible

of a Deity, know how to exerciſe Vertue, embrace that which is good, and avoid what is evill: this is that which endows a man with the qualifications of Wiſdom, Valour, and Juſtice; by this we are able to diſcern, that the terreſtrial Globe is wheel'd about by divine wiſdom; it is this that makes a man Noble, a *Hero*: which was the reaſon that the Lacedæmonians impoſed the title of Gods upon thoſe perſons, that were judged to move in the higheſt ſphear of underſtanding; *homines de meliore luto*; men of a more noble allay, than dull mud-wall'd man can boaſt of: Nay, *Homer* deifies *Hector* in this enſuing Diſtich:

Non hominis certe mortalis filius ille
Eſſe videtur, ſed divino ſemine natus.

So that we may maintain (without being Paradoxical) that that man, who is guided by ſolid reaſon in all his words and actions, is *quaſi ſemi-deus inter mortales*; a Demi-god among men.

Now, of ſuch repute is a Sage Senator, or grave Couſellor; who hath reaſon for his Cynoſure, and wiſdom his coadjutreſs in all undertakings. Such perſons are ſo neceſſa-

neceſſary in a Commonwealth, that they can by no means be omitted or left out: For, the King being but a ſingle perſon, cannot have an eye unto all the tranſactions of his Kingdom; beſides, ſomtimes it happens, that he is ſeduced from the conduct of reaſon, by yeilding to his affections, or ſlackning the reins of his appetite and licentiouſneſs; and the rude multitude, being ignorant, is altogether uncapable of that underſtanding, or knowledge. Yet the Senate, elected according to the Law of the Land, and compacted or made up of vertuous, ſober, grave, diſcreet perſons, do from their place, as from a *Pharos*, or Watch-tower, look about them, and provide all things requiſite for the diſcreet and well regulating of the State wherein they live; preventing all mutinies, ſeditions and diſſentions that the rebellious rabble durſt any waies attempt: Of ſuch great uſe and neceſſity are they, and that not only to the King, but the people alſo; like unto the vital part of mans ſoul, which reſiding in the heart, enliveneth and quickens that which partakes of Reaſon, and is ſituated in the head: and a Monarch that is guided by the advice and counſel of a grave Senate, rules his Kingdom prudent-

ly, and governs it discreetly. For, as reason in all her proceedings, makes use of the service of the senses; yet she alone determines, and deserves the greatest honour and esteem: so a Prince, though he admit of Counsel, is to be judged the wisest; and is uncontroulable in all his actions: for it is a Maxim among us, that *The King can do no wrong.* And as the hand distinguished into fingers is thereby strengthned, and made the more apt to lay hold on any thing; so he that governeth with the aid and assistance of Counsel, shall manage all affairs with the greater consideration and prudence. Their original did proceed from the benefit that it was imagined would accrue to the Commonwealth, whereof they were members, by their counsel: And although they, that first assembled men into Cities, who before like Savages, ranged over the woods, and inhabited the deserts dispersedly, without either Law or Order, first gained the Title of Kings; yet that course alone could not make them understand the dutiful Allegiance they owed unto their Soveraign: wherefore perceiving, that when they were civilized, and reduced from their brutality, the authority of a single Person was not of sufficiency to curb

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and check them in the full career of their exorbitancies, they judged it convenient to have aſſiſtance from ſerious and grave Counſellors: which we find performed by *Romulus* the *Proto-baſileus*, or firſt King of the Romans; who ſuppoſing the Government of a ſingle Perſon without a Senate to be perilous and unſafe, made a Convocation of 100 Senators, who out of reſpect to their gray heads, and grave underſtandings, obtained the name of *Patres*. *Theopompus* alſo, King of *Sparta*, trod the ſame path; For, he conſtituted the *Ephori*, and inveſted them with eminent authority: whereat his wife being offended, was ſo pragmatical as to tell him, That he had derogated from his dignity, and clipt the wing of his enſuing Poſterity, by diminiſhing their authority and ſupremacy: But he replied, like himſelf, That the Counſel and gravity of a Senate would fortifie his Kingdom, and be inſtead of a Bulwark againſt the impious machinations and plots of rebellious Subjects. Whereby it is apparent, that Monarchs firſt embraced Counſellors out of neceſſity: and all rational men are of opinion, that thoſe State-tranſactions are moſt firm and ſolid, that are digeſted by the wiſdome of a Parliament, ere they come to a publike

publike birth. Now, I call that a Parliament, or Senate, which by Royal Authority, and the general consent of the whole Nation, is freely elected, and constituted, to advise and govern the State; and consequently, a Senator, or Parliament-man, is one lawfully chosen into the number of those that are authorized to sit at the helm, and steer the Ship of State. And it hath ever been observed, that they were alwaies the most grave, discreet, and noble sort of Subjects; because there is no Society of Men, or Nation, how barbarous and brutish soever, but will voluntarily and cordially consent, that the Government should be imposed upon, and rest in those persons that are vertuous; and think it just and reasonable to obey them. Nor are there any so fit to govern, as the ancient, experienced, which are usually chosen; because others, either through want of maturity or experience, are usually withdrawn by their juvenile phancies, and recreations, from such serious places of authority: but a grave Counsellor is not disturbed or discomposed with extravagant affections, transported by appetite, or inveigled by youth; but by Reason directed, by Counsel fortified, and by Age made perfect. And further,

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Philoſophers maintain, that in all things there are three degrees; Great, Small, and Indifferent: And that is judged the moſt perfect, that participates of either, and ſtands in an *Æquilibrium* between two: Now, the Senator ſtanding as a mean or moderator between the King and People, the Monarch and his Subjects; may be the more intimately acquainted with the perfection of all things; and ſtudy what is the Office of a King, and the duty and Allegiance of a Subject; with the Rights, Properties, Liberties, and Laws appertaining to both; and ſo adviſe them accordingly; that the King may not turn tyrannical for want of Counſel, nor the people tranſcend the bounds of a moderate becoming liberty: Therefore he muſt of neceſſity be a man of excellent endowments, a clear intellect, and a piercing underſtanding, to dive into the intricacies of Government. *Scipio* ſaith, That as the end of Mariners, and their laborious endeavours, tends to a ſafe arrival into the intended Haven; the Phyſicians skill and art is employed for the recovering and preſerving health in his diſtempered Patients; and the Captains valour levels at victory: So the happineſs of Subjects, their glory, life, and liberty

ſhould

ſhould be the *ſumma totalis*, or chiefeſt end that our Counſellor ſhould aime at; all which he muſt labour to preſerve, maintain and augment, by his induſtry and endeavour, to the utmoſt extent of his ability; and leave no ſtone unturned for the benefit of the Republick, of which he is a Member. Nor is it my deſign here in this Treatiſe to broach any new-fangled opinion, like thoſe that are hatcht in the brains of our Phanatick Regicides; or to phancie a *Chimæra*, or make my brain the womb or *Idæa* of an Utopian Counſellor, that can only be imagined, and not found *in eſſe* (as *Plato* did in his Commonwealth, and *Cicero* in his Orator) but my diſcourſe ſhall tend to, and end in a relation and deſcription of ſuch Perſons as have liv'd heretofore, and *citra omnis controverſiæ aleam*, may be hereafter. And as divine *Plato* compoſed, and reduced all thoſe things into order, that might conduce to the felicity of his City, or Republick; the ſame courſe will we take in the Character of our Counſellor: wherefore perſwade your ſelf to be arrived at, or come to ſome famous *Emporium*, or *Piazza*; whereunto all perſons, of all Nations, Countries and Cities repair; and we will diſrobe every ſingle perſon of ſome Vertue, Law, Cuſtome,

Cuſtome, or Qualification, that ſhall ſeem moſt advantagious and beneficial to our enterprize; and therewith make up our Sage Senator, Grave Counſellor, or Perfect Politician: that they, who for the future are inveſted with ſuch eminent dignity and authority, may imitate our Senator, and endeavour to be adorned with theſe enſuing qualifications.

CHAP. II.

Of the diverſity of Man's nature in general, and of the Parentage and Education of a Senator in particular.

THere is nothing more clear, than that the Supreme Power, among many other gifts, hath conferr'd that of Reaſon upon Man, to the end that by vertue thereof, he may pry into the nature of Cœleſtial, as well as Terreſtrial bodies; and thereby honour, reverence, and adore the Creator.

Now, he that is ſenſible of the gifts of God, and the benefits of Nature; and doth, both by contemplation and action, employ this ſupernatural gift, ſlowly Apes the Deity, and

and thereby reſembles him, as much as comes within the compaſs of mortality. But, they that contrary to Nature, and the end of their Creation, indulge their genius, delighting themſelves in ſenſuality, neglecting, or totally deſerting Reaſon; *Facie tantum homines ſunt, non animo*: carry only the outward aſpect or complexion of a Man; becauſe they are deſtitute of his more noble endowments.

Hence ariſeth the variety of mens natures and diſpoſitions, or rather conditions: for, ſome are born Free, Noble, Wiſe, and with an aptitude to govern; others, Vaſſals, Ruſticks, Ideots, predeſtinated to ſervitude and bondage: All Societies of men, being willing and ready to ſubmit to the Government of the more grave and wiſe; promoting, and accumulating honours on them, and Offices, with reverence and reſpect ſuitable to their deſerving gravity and underſtanding.

Plato is of opinion, that God in mans firſt Creation, did by his omniſcience ſo order it, that in the generation of thoſe that are deſtin'd and adapted to govern, he hath diſtill'd ſome drams of gold in their compoſition; and in them that are to aſſiſt Kings and Superiours by their deliberate coun-

counſel, and mature advice, ſilver; but the Nature of Peaſants and Mechanicks is tempered with Braſs and Iron. Which ſimilitude the Philoſopher extends to the manners, nature, and capacitie of man.

For, although every man naturally deſireth, that the iſſue of his loyns may reſemble him; yet ſometimes, though ſeldom, it happens contrary to his expectation: for Gold ſometimes produceth Silver, a more inferiour metal. Therefore it is requiſite, that a Prince ſhould be capable of underſtanding the natural diſpoſition and inclination of his Royal Off-ſpring, that their Iron may be converted into the Gold of a more noble diſpoſition: but, if neither good Education, Documents nor Precepts can operate upon their inclinations, ſo as to cauſe a Metamorphoſis, or Tranſmutation; the Goverment muſt be transferr'd to thoſe, whoſe wiſdome renders them more capable. For, it hath been prognoſticated, and the event hath been experimentally known to ſucceed according to the Prediction; That they that are ruled by ignorant, mechanick Governours, come to ruine, deſtruction, and confuſion. To prevent all which misfortunes, it is requiſite, that our Counſellor be a natural Subject of that place or

Coun-

Country where he governeth; no forreigner: of the ſame Country, becauſe that birth and being do not only oblige, but induce a man to believe, that it is honourable, juſt, and requiſite for him to ſpend his bloud in defence thereof, when occaſion is offered: *Dulce & decorum eſt pro patria mori*; It is a ſweet and comely thing to die for ones Country. And how can it be that any man, of what conſtitution ſoever, ſhould not affect that place wherein his Parents, Neighbours, Friends, and Allies reſide; and that Country to which he is indebted for his Life, Name, and Honour, and every thing elſe that is either for delight or neceſſity? *Non nobis enim nati ſumus* (ſaith the Orator) *ſed patriæ*; Our Country challengeth the greateſt part of us. And it is moſt certain, that Nature hath ſo deeply rooted the affection to their native place in the mind of man, that never was any good Subject timorous, or unwilling to lay down his life, and hazard his fortunes in her defence, if neceſſity required. Nay, it hath been ſo prevalent, that the moſt impious and unnatural perſons, that endeavoured the ſubverſion of the place of their nativity, the very ſight of their native ſoyl hath prevented their cruel enter-

enterprize. *Veturia* did diſſwade her Son *Martius* beſieging *Rome*, only by reducing to his memory the love and reſpect he ought to bear to his natural Country; branding him with the name of impious and audacious, for being ſo highly ambitious, as to diſturb the quiet of that City wherein he was begot and educated; altogether unmindful of his Wife, Children, and friends that remained there. So notable was the piety of *Veturia* to her Country, and no leſs was that of her Son in forgiving it; which had been ſomewhat ingrateful to him at that time, through the cruelty of the Tribunes perſecuting the Nobility. *Sertorius* alſo entreated *Pompeius* and *Metellus* to endeavour the procurement of his revocation; alledging, that he took it for a greater piece of honour to have the name of an obſcure Roman Citizen, than that of Emperour in any other place of the habitable World. Well then might *Naſo* ſing,

Neſcio qua natale ſolum dulcedine cunctas
Ducit, & immemores non ſinit eſſe ſui.

The Obligation that devoteth and bindeth us to our Country, is great, upon this ac-

count; becauſe our goods, perſons and for-
tunes are therein contained. *Pythagoras*
(as it is reported by divine *Plato*) judged
it a crime of as deep a dye, to be guilty o
ingratitude to the place of ones nativity
as to ones own Mother, to whom we ar
indebted for being: Nor can there be a
offence ſo hainous, but the affection to ou
native Country ſhould allay and mitigate
Our Counſellor muſt be of natural birth
no Forreiner; becauſe their counſel or ad
vice is thought and accounted ſuſpiciou
and dangerous; which was the reaſon tha
mov'd the *Athenians* not only to exclud
ſtrangers from their Council, but to driv
them out of their Cities, leſt they ſhoul
aſpire at the dignity of Magiſtracy, an
inſtigate or work upon the minds of Citi
zens, ſo as to perſwade them to Innovati
on; and ſo mutation of Laws, Cuſtom
and manners might enſue, and conſequent
ly Seditions and Rebellions. Which me
thod the Venetians have diligently ob
ſerved; for, it is their ſtudy and thei
whole induſtry, to prevent their ſitting a
mong them in Council, leſt they intrudin
under a falſe name or title, ſhould arrive t
dignity and eminency in the Republick
Beſides, it is requiſite he be of the Nobili
ty

ty; begotten of honeſt Parents; becauſe honeſt parents produce honeſt children, for the moſt part. He muſt be of the number of noble and free Citizens, who aſſumes his title from that Nobility that owes its original to Vertue; which he may partly challenge as his own, and partly as his Anceſtors. They therefore that are nobilitated and adorned with their own peculiar vertues, as well as with thoſe of their Predeceſſors, merit eſteem, preferment, honour and fame, above all others, and are to be highly reverenced; and the reaſon is, becauſe that Vertuous and good Parents, have a generous, good, vertuous and noble Iſſue: according to the Lyrick Poet,

Fortes fortibus creantur, & bonis,
Eſt in jumentis, eſt in equis Patrum
Virtus, nec imbellem feroces
Progenerant aquilæ columbam.

Now (as *Ariſtotle* affirmeth) that perſon that comes of a noble race, is the ſtem of a noble ſtock, and hath the affluence of Fortune accompanied with Vertue, hath arrived to the apex or perfection, the very Quinteſſence of true Nobility. But, be-

cauſe it is a rarity to find one perſon adorned with them all; Vertue alone can by her own right and property *nobilitare viros*. As for revenues, large acres, ſpecious & ſpacious Mannors, but no manners, and the honour that we challenge from our Anceſtors without vertue, they are ſo far from being ornaments, that they prove a diſparagement and a ſtain to the Owner. Such perſons render the name of their Predeceſſors obſcure; And through the vices of their Poſterity, are entombed in the grave of oblivion: Therefore it is better to aſcend the top of Nobility by a man's own vertue (ſaith the fluent Orator) than to be reputed for the opinion conceived of his Anceſtors; becauſe the Beginner of Nobility deſerves moſt praiſe and applauſe. He that is the off-ſpring of a noble Family, deſerves honour and eſteem undoubtedly with this proviſo, that he make it the But and End of his Endeavours and Induſtry, to equal, if not excel, the Vertues of his Parents and Predeceſſors, and to gain unto himſelf more vertuous and glorious Attributes. And infinitely are they to be commended that do ſo; for they are ſo far from obſcuring the Fame and Renown of their Fore-fathers, that they add a moſt reſplen-

den-

dent luſtre to it by their own vertue yet verdant and bloſſoming. The Law of the *Rhodians* is worthy of commendation; for they enacted, that thoſe children that did lead a debauched life, not imitating the vertues of their Parents, ſhould be utterly diſinherited, and their Lands by a Deed of gift freely diſpoſed of to the moſt vertuous of the Race or Family. It is an office of piety, to leave unto Poſterity a demonſtration of our gratitude and thankfulneſs to our Anceſtors, whoſe heirs we are, not only of their external ſubſtance, (the goods of fortune, I mean) but of their virtue, glory, and renown: which is the true inheritance, and the beſt of all terrene poſſeſſions. For, 'tis not a ſtately Building hung within with coats of Arms, and badges of the honour of others, nor the vaſt unmeaſurable pieces of Land belonging thereunto, but Vertue, that Nobilitates; As *Juvenal* ſings,

Tota licet veteres exornent undique ceræ
Atria, Nobilitas ſola eſt, atque unica virtus.

For, whereſoever Vertue is reſident, it deſerves more ample commendation than Fortune can lay claim to, becauſe ſhe

refuſeth none, but may be by every one embraced; ſhe dwels in the homely Peaſants Cottage, as well as in the Princes ſtately Palace; and we find the Sun-bak'd Peaſant adorn'd with ruſſet-honeſty, when the gaudy fantaſtick Lord oft-times is ſo vitious, that he is a ſtranger both to vertue and honeſty. *Cleanthes* was a poor water-drawer; and, though his outſide might ſeem rough-hewn, and he deſpicable and contemptible to one whoſe ſight pries no farther than the external part: yet his mind was refin'd, and his intellect ennobled with ſuch faculties as will ſpeak him Man, to an underſtanding perſon, maugre all the force and violence of Poverty or Fortune: No did Vertue find *Plato* noble, but made him ſo. And it is moſt certain, that from Bond men Kings have deſcended, and the off ſpring of Kings hath been enſlaved: ſuch revolutions, long tract of time, by the aſſiſtance of fickle fortune, doth produce: for according to the Poet,

Si fortuna volet, fies de Rhetore Conſul;
Si volet hæc eadem, fies de Conſule Rhetor.

Up and down,
Kiſs and frown.
Fortune is no ſtate at all.

Wa

Was not *Agathocles* from a Potter advanced to the Throne? What *Heroes* were *Romulus*, *Tullus*, *Hoſtilius*, *Tarquinius Priſcus*, and the whole Race of the Romans, more than others? Of mean parentage all, not *atavis regibus editi*. Hearken to *Juvenal*, and he will give you the ſame information:

Et tamen ut longe repetas, longoque revolvas,
Nomen ab infami gentum deducis Aſylo.

Who therefore may be termed noble? He that by nature is made vertuous, and qualified or adorned with the attribute of wiſdom. Moreover, as the exerciſe of our qualities is various, ſo are the degrees of Nobility. The Nobility of private perſons, that lead a contemplative life only, may be called Philoſophical Nobility; but the ſame in thoſe that gain glory and renown by their ſage and wiſe Counſel in behalf of the Commonwealth, or that manifeſt themſelves ſtout and valiant in managing war for the defence of their Country, is termed Civil Nobility. The force and efficacy of this Nobility extends to Poſterity, and engraves or makes *monumentum ære perennius*; That is, armour of proof againſt the iron teeth of time; *Quod nec*

Jovis ira, nec ignis, Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetuſtas. By theſe enſigns of Fame and vertue, men are ſtimulated and ſpurred on to imitate and exceed the vertue of all their Predeceſſors. And as in every Republick there are two kinds of Time, the one of Peace, and the other of War: ſo the Citizens are of two ſorts; the one fitted for Peace, and the other adapted for War: The former by Arms doth enlarge the Territories and bounds of his native Country, or at leaſt defend them from the invaſion of forraign enemies; the other by wiſe counſel and grave advice doth rule and preſerve it inviolable. Wherefore, a Commonwealth ſhould be compoſed of theſe two ſorts of men: for, as in the management and proceedings of State-affairs action followeth conſultation, and is inferior to it; ſo thoſe perſons, by whoſe mature counſel and deliberate advice the Commonwealth was quietly, peaceably and diſcreetly governed, were of greater eſteem than thoſe that enlarged the Confines thereof by War and Arms. *Homer* the Prince of Græcian Poets, produced *Agamemnon*, ſaying, He could ſooner ſurprize and ſubjugate the City of *Troy* by the advice of ten *Neſtors* or *Ulyſſes*, than by the valou

valour of twice as many *Ajaces* or *Achilles*. *Pyrrhus* likewiſe was heard to uſe this expreſſion frequently, That *Cineas* by his eloquence had won more Cities, than he with all his men of War had ever conquered. But, he that excelleth in wiſdom and martial knowledge, deſerves the Crown and honour above all: and though, as we ſaid before, it is Vertue that makes a man Noble, without the additional riches of Fortune; yet it is requiſite our Counſellor ſhould be wealthy; becauſe thereby he may be able to ſupply his Country, if compelled to wage war; for money is the ſinews and ſtrength of war. But good education, ſaith *Plato*, is the baſis and foundation of ſolid wiſdom and prudence. It is therefore requiſite, that from their tender years they be inſtructed in all things that conduce to the accompliſhment of man, *è cunabulis*, as we ſay, even from the cradle and ſwathing clouts, for then are they moſt apt to imbibe and ſuck in the moſt wholeſome Precepts that ſhall be exhibited unto them: for then *anima eſt quaſi tabula raſa*, like a blank or piece of clean white paper, capable of any vertuous or noble impreſſion. And as it behoveth a Republick to be ſtored with knowing Subjects, ſo ought they

they to be diligent in their education, and provide them good Tutors, that may inſtruct them, and chalk them out the way of Vertue. For, as a good husbandman diligently pruneth his plants, and loppeth off the ſuperfluous branches, when the ſeaſon requires it, that they may grow the faſter; ſo the Commonwealth, that may juſtly be termed the Parent and houſewife of Subjects, ought to be extraordinary diligent to provide for the careful and vertuous education of youth, by lopping off the ſuperfluous branches of vice, and engrafting them on the ſtock of Vertue. The *Lacedæmonians* uſed to elect Magiſtrates out of the number of their grave, wiſe and ſober Citizens, and call them publike Tutors, which might ſerve to educate and train up their younglings; and were alwaies reverenced by them, being judged vertuous men in action, and well skill'd in military diſcipline. And the ancient Romans were as ſtrict and careful in this point of education, as the Lacedæmonians. *Cato* was ſo diligent in the nurture and education of his Son, that he diſdained not to receive him into his tuition, and take him into his pupillage or guardianſhip as ſoon as ever ripeneſs of age had fitted him for inſtruction.

on. And although at that very time he kept *Chilo* the Grammarian, and one excellent in that art, in his houſe, to inſtruct his Children, yet he had not permiſſion to correct them, but that was left to the diſcretition of the Father. Beſides, he diſdained to be engaged to a School-maſter for the inſtruction of his Children altogether; wherefore he taught them the Laws, manners and Cuſtomes of his own as well as other Nations; as alſo, how to dart, handle his Arms, ſwim, (which was anciently much in eſteem; for, *Ariſtotle* when he would ſet forth an abſolute *Dulman* or *Ignaro*, ſaith, μήτε νεῖν, μήτε γράμματα, he could neither read nor ſwim,) and to endure both heat and cold, that he might be hardened and ſeaſoned for any enterprize. Beſides, he penn'd a Hiſtory with his own hands, and committed it to the peruſal of his Son, that he might therein ſee and underſtand the heroick deeds and actions of his Anceſtors, and be inſtructed in the art of Government. He never ſpake any unclean or paſſionate word before his Son, but was as circumſpect in his language, as if the Veſtal Virgins or Prieſts were in preſence; obſerving that ancient rule,

Nil

Nil dicta fœdum factuve hæc limina tangat
Intra quæ puer eſt ——— ———

And this was the œconomique or domeſtique diſcipline of *Cato*, and of the major part of the Romans, eſpecially of the better ſort, in the education of their Children. In like manner the Philoſophers of *Greece* compoſed plaies for the inſtruction of youth; which is preſerved to this very day among us, (though that cuſtome for ſome years was almoſt obſolete and out of requeſt.) Nor were they only capable of indoctrinating, or laying down the tenets that are neceſſary to a happy and good life, but they were of ability to inſtruct in the Laws and manner of Government: Yea, this our preſent Age hath ſome Seminaries of Learning and Vertue (according to the Græcian cuſtome) the Univerſities of *Cambridge* and *Oxford*, (though lately ready to expire, and almoſt demoliſhed by the Phanaticks, who hated all book-learning (as they term it) becauſe their crimes were ſo hainous, that they went beyond the mercy of the book.) Hither Youth might reſort, as unto a Harveſt of Science and Knowledge, and might reap a crop of Vertue and good

good Diſcipline. But it were to be wiſh'd, that the Doctors and Tutors in our Univerſities would inſtruct their Pupils in the art of living, and not diſputing well altogether, (for, ſo might they deſerve preferment from the Commonwealth, and commendation from all ſolid perſons,) and not take more delight in hearing a Prævaricator or Jeſter, than a ſolid Philoſopher. In ancient times, Philoſophers enjoyned their Pupils ſilence, and taught it alſo; but our modern wits teach them only to talk or diſcourſe; which is the reaſon the Nation is filled with ſo many worded Orators, and prating Philoſophers. They endeavor not, *nunc dierum*, to refine the underſtanding, but to cloath the tongue with frothy language; and are applauded for altercation and ſtrength of wit in their publike arguments, but not for modeſty or ſolid wiſdom: yet there is hope of a reformation in theſe Schools of Learning, when thoſe loyal Spirits, that for their Allegiance to their Soveraign were diſmiſſed, are re-inſtated. The ancient Græcian Academies were the Nurſeries of Commonweals; and out of them (as from the Trojan Horſe) iſſued moſt excellent Monarchs, ſtout Captains, and wiſe Governors.

nors. *Alexander* and *Scipio*, with whoſe Fame the whole World hath ecchoed, had their primitive education in Schools of Literature; and many others, which I omit. Thus it is apparent, that men ought to be trained up in Schools, that ſo they may be inſtructed in the Principles of Government: wherefore it ought to be the care of every State, Republick and Kingdom, that their Seminaries of Learning be as well furniſhed and ſtored with Vertues, as the Citizens ſhops are with wares and commodities. Now then, we ſee that good education is requiſite, and accompliſheth our Senator. Beſides, he muſt have an inclination to Vertue; for if not, his evill diſpoſition will hardly be bettered by Philoſophy: for, the nature of man prompts him to evill; and he finding himſelf ſtrengthned with the Science of Philoſophy, is more expert, and gains more skill to palliate and plead for his bad actions: for the beſt of Sciences poſſeſſed by a man of an evil diſpoſition, is depraved, and, contrary to its own nature, is a help to, and promoter of evill counſel. So that it may be maintained, that good inſtruction beſtowed upon an evill nature, is oftentimes ill employed, and ineffectual. Though it is moſt

moſt certain, that Education prevails much with tender years, changing it from vice, and molding it according to the form of Vertue. *Diogenes* being demanded, How a man might lead a peaceable and quiet life; Replied, firſt, He muſt fear the Deity, who is the Author of all felicity. Secondly, He muſt beſtow good education on his Children, the want whereof makes them enemies, and diſreſpectful to their aged Parents. Thirdly, He muſt avoid ingratitude to his friends, which of all crimes is the moſt odious and comprehenſive, containing within it ſelf a whole bundle of offences. *Ingratum dixeris, & omnia dixeris.* Mention but Ingratitude, and you have epitomized all ſins in a word. Moreover, it is neceſſary that Children be inſtructed in the rudiments of Grammar, Rhetorick and Logick, whereby they may underſtand the property of ſpeech, and the excellency thereof, as alſo defend it by argumentation. Thus may he underſtand the Art of Eloquence, which is perfected by uſe, diſcourſe, and ſurveying the works of Poets and Orators; and being thus inſtructed, he will ſhake off thoſe petty inconſiderable things that are underſtood by every mean capacity, and take into conſideration matters of greater

greater weight and importance. And the mind, beginning to know her ſelf, ſeeks after the true food and nouriſhment that will ſatisfie and content her, which is Philoſophy; of which in this enſuing Chapter.

CHAP. III.

The knowledge of Arts and Sciences required in Senators; and particularly, that of Philoſophy.

PHiloſophy is the food and medicine of the mind, affording it Vertue as Aliment, and healing all ſorts of maladies and diſturbances that are incident thereunto, making a perfect path-way to happineſs. The reaſon is, becauſe that then the mind ſhaketh off the terrene incumbrances that uſually clog the body, and meditates upon things Divine and Cœleſtial. This knowledge of Philoſophy is of two ſorts; the one conſiſts in the ſubtilty of Nature, and is ſubject to the univerſal contemplation of all men: The other, demonſtrateth and laies down the true inſtitution of men and manners, ſhewing how Republicks and Kingdoms ought to be regulated, and private

private Families ordered. To the first these parts of Philosophy belong: Physicks or natural Philosophy, Metaphysicks or Divinity, and the Mathematicks; and to the other, Ethicks, Politicks and Oeconomicks. Nor is the *finis* or end of these two sorts of Philosophy altogether discrepant, since they both tend to the perfection of man: yet in this they differ, that the one endeavours it by Contemplation, and the other by Action; the one by Theory, and the other by Practice; whereof a double felicity doth arise, the one private, and the other publike. Now, those that place felicity in the exercise of vertue for the good of the Republick, the more publike it be, the more praise-worthy it is judged; because a multitude receives benefit thereby, and not one single person. Yet we are necessitated and compelled to confess, that contemplation on felicity hath the preeminency, because it instructs in the principal efficient causes of all things and transactions. God also without action, by his perpetual and divine contemplation and prescience, foreseeing all things, doth by his own example move Philosophers to prefer divine contemplation before all humane action and felicity. That Philosophy

is neceſſary in a Senator, for the more ſecure management of State-affairs, will appear by what follows. Philoſophy is the eternal, immortal gift of the Creator, inſtructing us in the knowledge of all things both divine and humane; as alſo the nature of vertue and vice: ſo that he that (as in a glaſs) peeps therein, and then conſiders and meditates upon it, ſhall ſee the forms, *Idæa's* and Images of all things; and perceive a reſemblance or repreſentation both of body and mind. It was not therefore without cauſe ſtyled by fluent *Cicero* Univerſal knowledge, the conduct of life, the ſearcher of vertue, the expeller of vice, and the *Panacea*, or health of the Soul. For indeed, there is nothing in the world to be thought or acted, either in Court or Council, of great or ſmall importance, but proceeds from Philoſophy, as the Nurſe of all conſultations, actions, and reſolutions; which if you make your rule to walk by, all your words and actions will be judged ſober, wiſe, diſcreet, and in all reſpects perfect, as far as man can be. For, in what Country ſoever the People have a Philoſopher to their Prince, or one that is counſelled by Philoſophers; war, diſcord, or rebellion is ſeldome found. But, methinks I hea

hear ſome Phanatick lay this Objection in my way, as a ſtumbling-block to my proceedings. Doſt thou imagine, Sir Philoſopher (that's as good as Mr Doctor, an uſual phraſe among them) that the felicity of Kingdoms and Republicks, or the wiſdom of Kings and Governours proceeds from thy lazy idle diſcipline? (Raſh, illiterate fellows, they never conſider that the ſweat of the brains is greater than the ſweat of the brow) whenas that Art is but a meer juggling, prating ſcience; not that knowledge whereby men arrive to their intended felicity. How canſt thou be ſo impudent (the Omer of reſpect they afford to every one is Thou and Thee; and if it lay in their power, they would take away two as neceſſary Pronouns, Thine and Mine) as to dare to infect the Kingdom (Commonwealth, I ſhould have ſaid; for the name of King is enough to fright them into convulſion-fits) with that that will prove the ruine and deſtruction of it? For, as thou haſt filled the Schools with debate and contention, ſo wilt thou rend the ſtate with diviſions; and though it may be argued out in the Univerſity without blows, yet canſt thou think, that it will be determined in a Commonwealth without the

effuſion of bloud? How ſhall the happi-
neſs of a Republick be maintained and pre-
ſerved by Philoſophers, whoſe opinions
carry ſo much variety, dubiouſneſs, and
diametrical oppoſition? Which of all the
Philoſophical Sects ſhall our Common-
wealth be guided by; the Platoniſt, Peri-
patetick, Stoick, Cynick, or Epicure?
Now, they that differ about the *ſummum*
bonum, do they not diſſent in the ſubſtance
of Philoſophy? Therefore I am clearly of
opinion, That they who relie ſolely on Phi-
loſophy, are rather to be excluded than ad-
mitted to govern in any State or Repub-
lick whatſoever. Is it conſentaneous to
reaſon, that he ſhould be a Legiſlator, that
approves of no Law, but what is of his own
preſcription, relying wholly upon his own
reaſon, or rather phancie and opinion,
conceiting all perſons, himſelf excepted,
brutiſh and irrational? Is not this the hu-
mour and diſpoſition of your philoſophi-
cal crew? Did *Diogenes*, *Zeno*, or *Epictetus*
ever deſerve to ſit at the Helm of State?
To which I reply; There are two ſorts of
Philoſophers whom I judge altogether
unfit to govern: the firſt are they that
have only had a ſmack of Philoſophy,
ſo that the thirſting heat of their vitious
deſire

deſires and appetites is not quenched by vertue; and they themſelves lead lives quite contrary to the Precepts of Philoſophy, for want of good ground and ſolid foundation in that Science. Another ſort of Philoſophers there is, quite contrary to the forementioned, who having *à tenera ætate*, from their very youth been converſant with Philoſophers, and ſtudied Philoſophy, do waſte away their daies in the contemplative part only: ſuch kind of Philoſophy, which conduceth not to the emolument & benefit of the Commonwealth or Kingdom, is altogether improfitable. For, albeit they be learned, wiſe, and have turned over moſt Authors, and can give an account of all their Precepts and rules; yet they applying their minds to contemplation, not being experienced in civill affairs, are unfit for Government. Now theſe contemplative Philoſophers are juſtly called *Sapientes*, but they are not *prudentes*; as Geometricians, Mathematicians, and all the Society of natural Philoſophers. In like manner *Diogenes*, *Zenocrates*, *Chryſippus*, *Carneades*, *Democritus*, *Metrocles*, *Ariſtippus*, *Anaxagoras*, and *Thales*, were wiſe men, and of profound knowledge; but not prudent; becauſe their manner of wiſdom and Phi-

loſophy did prompt them to recreate and content themſelves in obſcure, ſecret and hidden matters, contrary to the nature of prudence: and though theſe Sciences in themſelves are good and commendable, yet are they impertinent and unprofitable to the State, when kept cloſe to themſelves, and not employed for the publick good. Now, prudence conſiſts in thoſe things that require deliberation and counſel: yet, if thoſe contemplative Philoſophers had not debarr'd themſelves from humane Society and converſation, but ſought after employment in publike affairs, as *Pericles*, *Solon*, *Lycurgus*, *Plato*, *Demoſthenes*, *Cato*, *Cicero*, and others did, they had no doubt been men of incomparable wiſdom and prudence, which *Socrates* (though herein he contradict *Ariſtotle*) ſtyles the only vertue, meaning (as I conceive, with ſubmiſſion to more mature judgements) that no vertue can be or continue without it. *Bion* was of opinion, That Prudence did excel all other vertues, as far as the ſight doth the reſt of the ſenſes; affirming that vertue to be as proper and frequent in old men, as vigour and ſtrength in thoſe that are young. Wherefore it is requiſite that our Senator be endued therewith; for he can neither

ſpeak

ſpeak, nor act any thing ſutable to his age and gravity, if he be not, as with ſauce, ſeaſoned therewith. The Latines call this vertue *Prudentia*, *à providendo*, from foreſeeing things to come, diſpoſing of thoſe that are preſent, and recollecting things paſt. For, he that doth not ruminate on things paſt, is altogether unmindful of his elapſed life; and he that foreſees not things future, is ſubject to many perils, and apt to be enſnared by every misfortune. Prudence (ſaith *Cicero*) is the knowledge of things good, evill, and indifferent; conſiſting wholly in the choice of that which is to be embraced, as alſo in that which is to be eſchewed, or carefully avoyded. And according to *Ariſtotle*, it is a habit coupled with perfect reaſon, apt for good action, and exerciſed in thoſe things which are either good or evil, and may evene or happen to man during this life. Therefore contemplative wiſdome differs from Prudence in this, that the former exceedeth not the bounds of contemplation, and the latter is wholly exerciſed in action, and the management of humane affairs. *Plato* affirmeth, that there are two things obſervable in the life of Man; The firſt is, For a man to know himſelf: And the ſecond, To know

and underſtand all things: Therefore let our Senator be ſtored with this wiſdom, *viz.* of knowing himſelf; for without it, no reaſon, vertue, action or cogitation can be reputed good or perfect. By the help of this wiſdom, the prudent man firſt ſettles and orders his own affairs; in which skill if he be deficient, he muſt not be offended at the name of fool. Now, under Prudence is comprehended or contained the skill of well-regulating domeſtical buſineſs, and the knowledge of enacting and making Laws, civill wiſdom, and policy in conſultation and judgement. Which is the reaſon why *Cicero* termeth the prudent management of œconomiques, or houſhold, domeſtical, and the ſame in State-affairs, civill wiſdom. And to the end that the Senator may ground his wiſdom upon a ſolid foundation, whereunto his imagination may have recourſe for reaſon to ſteer him to the truth; let him alwaies have before his eyes theſe things, honeſty, and profit: So that whatſoever he acteth or affirmeth privately, or publikely, may be directed by them both: for, all things that can be either conceived by reaſon, or expreſſed by truth, are included within the limits of theſe two. Wherefore it is convenient

nient that he be furniſhed with a peracute wit, and ſolid underſtanding, that he may dive into the abſtruſe nature of things, and find out what is honeſt and profitable; leſt the mind hoodwinckt with inordinate affections and deſires, ſeduce the judgement, and lead him from the path of truth. And many there are, who finding themſelves to have depraved their reaſon, by giving the reins to their looſe affections and luſts, do fall into erronious opinions quite oppoſite and contrary to wiſdome. Whence it follows inevitably, that they are not only cheated in their choice of that which is honeſt and profitable, but are blindfolded with the love of that which is abſolutely diſhoneſt and unprofitable. To prevent which errour, two things are to be taken into conſideration. Firſt, Not to take things unknown for known, and præcipitantly aſſent unto them: Next, Not to give way in the leaſt to any evill cuſtome; (for, *conſuetudo* or *uſus ſecunda natura*; Cuſtome doth tyrannize over the nature of man;) or to walk contrary to the rules of vertue. A thing that may with facility be comprehended by a Senator, if he conſider the good and welfare of the Commonwealth, which is the *Meta* or ſcope that all wiſdom

and

and counſel aims at: nor can the Natives of his own Country, nay, wiſdom her ſelf, require more at his hands, or expect more from him, than induſtry in preſerving the ſafety and felicity of the place of his nativity. But now it lies upon me to prove what Philoſophy beſt befits a Senator.

Wherefore ſince the felicity of every Counſellor, and the quinteſſence of all knowledge conſiſts in action, it ought to be his care and ſtudy to be exquiſite in that part of Philoſophy which preſcribeth the rules of regulating mens actions, and the Science of Government; to the end, that he may underſtand what is the beſt courſe of life; what is neceſſary and requiſite for the adminiſtration of publike and private affaires, and be skilful in ordaining Laws, correcting Judgments, and governing of People. Let him therefore be expert in that part of Philoſophy that inſtructeth the management of mans life, and the Art of Conſultation. For otherwiſe what account will he be able to give *de vivendi ratione*, of the beſt way of living, according to the rules of vertue, that is uncapable of giving you a definition thereof? What diſcourſe can ſuch a one make concerning Counſel, Juſtice, Fortitude, Temperance,

or

or Wiſdom? How ſhall he appeaſe the mutineers, ſuppreſs ſedition, or mitigate the rigour and ſeverity of the Laws, or proceed according to the rigour thereof, when he is ignorant of the precepts of Juſtice and Prudence? What counſel or advice can he afford either of War, Peace, or Contracts, that underſtands not when War is lawful, or unlawful; Peace juſt, or unjuſt; and Treaties honorable, or diſhonorable? Whenas he ought not only to conceive all the Precepts of vertue and morality, and to underſtand them by name; but to exerciſe and put them in practice. The ſum of which knowledge is contained in the Ethicks, Politicks, and Oeconomicks; from theſe, as from a Magazine or Storehouſe, he may furniſh himſelf with all Rules, Directions, and Precepts, for the exerciſe of vertue, and the government of a Kingdom, as alſo the order of a domeſtical life. And though all this while we plead for the neceſſity of Philoſophy in our Senators, yet are we clearly againſt the diviſions and Sects of Philoſophy; nor is it profitable, but rather injurious to the Commonwealth, that the minds of men ſhould be divided into ſeveral whimſies and opinions. Firſt therefore, we extirpate Epicuriſm;

riſm; Becauſe it being grounded on, and ſupported by ſenſual delights and pleaſures, ought not to be in him whom we elect for our Senator. The Stoick we do not blame or accuſe; yet we hold it convenient that their Tenets be exploded, as unfit for our Counſellor; in regard that (as *Cicero* ſaith) they maintain the Philoſopher to be the only wiſe man, and that all other perſons are but Thieves, barbarous, and inſatuated. For, it were abſurd to admit him a Senator, that is of an opinion there is no wiſe Counſellor, Freeman, or Citizen, himſelf excepted. And though there hath ever been a diſſention between the Stoick and Peripatetick touching the *Summum bonum*: yet we adhere to the latter, becauſe they are the beſt Tutors of Vertue and good Manners, and the moſt noble, valiant, wiſe, diſcreet Captains: Counſellors, Emperours and Kings have iſſued out of that Society. Beſides, it is requiſite that our Senator be well read in Hiſtory, and exerciſed in all humane Learning: For firſt, in Hiſtory he will find out the notable ſayings and acts of wiſe men, that have lived in elapſed time, which are not ſo plentifully found in any Books, as in the monumental Annals, and Chronicles of

of fore-paſt Ages. This was the reaſon that moved *Tully* to call Hiſtory, The witneſs of time, the light of truth, the memorial of life, and the Herald of Antiquity. For, can any perſon paint out ſo fully to the life, or give ſo perfect a delineation of Vertue, Fortitude, Juſtice, Continence, Frugality, and contempt of death, in an eloquent and fluent Oration, as may be read in the actions of *Cornelii*, *Valerii*, *Fabritii*, *Curii*, *Decii*, *Mutii*, and others? What noble *Heroes* have our modern times produced! Hath not the Politick *Monck*, Noble *Maſſey*, and Loyal *Montroſs*, been ſingular and almoſt unimitable for their Policy, Valour, and Magnanimity? From theſe, and the like, he may make an extract of the moſt exact civill knowledge, and direct himſelf in the management of State-affairs. Beſides, Policy muſt be one of his chief ſtudies: and he muſt be expert in underſtanding the tranſactions of Noblemen, the humors, diſpoſitions, and temper of all mens ſpirits, the Order and Government of Commonweals, and civill Societies: it is alſo neceſſary, that he be perfect in all Ordinances, Acts and Laws, either for Peace, War, Proviſions, the quality of the Subject, the adminiſtration of the

the State, or the nature of men: as alſo to underſtand, what exalts, and what abaſeth the mind; what Vertue is, what Diſcipline and Education is moſt convenient for youth; what Cuſtoms muſt be ratified or made firm; what duty we owe to God, and what reverence to Religion, and Allegiance to our Soveraign: in all which, we have a *Monck* among us of late (though none that ever entred into Canonical Orders) who will ſufficiently inſtruct us. Nor muſt he be ignorant in Leagues, Contracts, and Alliances with Forraign Princes and Potentates: Since ſuch proceedings are dayly found in Kings Courts. Well therefore did *Antonius* deſcribe a Senator or Counſellor, in theſe words: He is one that ought to underſtand by what means the Kingdom or Republick receives benefit; and when occaſion offers, to put them in practice. And, ſuch were in *Rome* the *Lentuli*, *Gracchi*, *Metelli*, *Scipiones*, and *Lelii*. Now, he that is well practiſed in the Law, hath experience in War, or skill in œconomicks, or domeſtick Authority, deſerves to be promoted to the dignity of a Counſellor. Eloquence is alſo a great ornament to our Senator; but of that and ſome other qualifications, more at large in the enſuing Chapter. CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of Eloquence, Clemency, Piety, and other Vertues neceſſary to the accompliſhment of a Senator.

THeſe moſt noble Sciences and Arts will be infinitely adorned in our Senator by the addition of Eloquence, which is the true ornament of wiſdom. For, without this accompliſhment, all things elſe are as it were dead, till they do flouriſh by the help of Rhetorick; And an eloquent, terſe, and curiouſly-penn'd Oration doth not only commend the Author, but the private and publike benefit is oftentimes promoted thereby. It is this that appeaſeth with her neat-ſpun blandiſhments the fury of our enraged enemies. Now, whatſoever he pronounceth, it muſt be done gravely, adviſedly, eloquently, readily, and with comely geſture; for this, according to the Poet,

——*Emollit animos, & temperat iras.*

The ſupple oyl of an inſinuating Oration will

will heal the wounds of a mutinous Rabble, and reduce them to their former obedience. Next unto Eloquence, the knowledge and insight in the Law is required; the end whereof tends to the conservation of Equity. And indeed, who can with greater wisdom decide a cause or controversie? Who can better appease sedition, (the poyson of a Kingdom) or more rationally defend the Laws, Customs, Rights and Priviledges of the People, than he that is skill'd in the Law? Well then may we say, as it hath been affirmed heretofore, That the Habitation of a learned Lawyer is the Oracle of the City. Now, the Law in all Kingdoms is bound to tye every man to his duty, and to defend them so long as they continue vertuous and faithful. But, it is not sufficient only to enact Laws neither, that punish or recompence men according to demerits; but, to compose Laws, Customs, and Exercises (as the Lacedemonians did) wherein the People may take delight: besides, such judgement must be used in the prescribing of Laws, that therein all occasion of offences may be removed. For, as the Physician by his medicines heals the maladies of the body; so the Counsellor ought by good and whol-

some

ſome Laws to cure the diſtempers of the mind. Yet they are not to be approved of, who perceiving an inconvenience growing, immediately fall to execution, without conſidering how the ſame miſchievous deſign may be utterly extirpated: For it is more conſonant to reaſon, for a Senator to endeavour the reducing men to juſtice and honeſty, than to ſtudy how to execute them for every offence committed. What man can be ſo inhumane, that would not rather remove the cauſe? and then aſſuredly the effect would ceaſe. Who would not rather provide corn for the poor, than through the want thereof force them to turn Robbers, and ſend them to execution for it? And who is there, that ſeeing the Kingdom overſpread with debauchery, and the people addicted to licentiouſneſs, would not endeavour to correct and reform theſe enormities by pecuniary mulcts, ſooner than by penal Laws? Therefore, as *Cicero* ſaith, if thou wilt remove Covetouſneſs, take away her Mother, Exceſs. Wherefore he muſt have all the commodities and diſcommodities of his Country before his eyes, and then he may be ſo expert in State-Chirurgery, as to heal the ſores and wounds wherewith the body politick is oftentimes

troubled. Yet we desire not that our Sena-
tor should be a pleader at the Bar, Proctor
or Advocate, because that most of tha
Tribe (Charity forbids me to say all) be-
ing mercenary, are many times the mini-
sters of falshood and injustice, bearing a
bout them minds and tongues principle
against justice and truth. Indeed, it is
difficult piece of business for him to be
Lover of equity and truth, whose tongu
hath been accustomed to walk for lucr
Not but that many famous Counsello
have been found among those gowne
Gentlemen; but all men are incident
failings, of what profession or functio
soever: nor is this to be imputed to the
alone, there are others that shake han
with them: But enough of that. Civ
Discipline falls next under our consider
tion, whereby he is instructed how to le
his life discreetly, and to govern his Cou
try with gravity and justice. Now he w
termed a civill man among Philosopher
who by vertue and wisdom was enable
to command civilly; and he oftentim
had the authority of making Laws, a
governing of Subjects. *Plato* in his Co
monwealth hath framed two sorts of D
scipline; the one relating to the exerci

of the body, and the other of the mind: the diſcipline of the mind he called *Muſica*, and that of the body *Gymnaſtica*. Now, by the harmony of Muſick, he underſtands a certain concord or conſent of mind, wherein all actions do amiably agree with vertue, and vertue with them; which *Copula* Law and Philoſophy make up in Man: for hereby we are capable of judging what is honeſt, and what diſhoneſt; what juſt, and what unjuſt; what is to be loved, and what to be loathed: and beſides, what duty we owe to our Parents, Princes and Magiſtrates. By *Gymnaſtica*, he means the exerciſes of the body, whereby the vigour and ſtrength of man is much helped and encreaſed. This conſiſts in leaping, running, wreſtling, hunting, riding, darting, ſwimming, to be both right and left-handed; in brief, all military exerciſes and honeſt recreations are contained in this word *Gymnaſtica*. It is very neceſſary and requiſite in all ſorts of men (much more then in our Senator) to conjoyn the exerciſes of the body with the vertues of the mind, and to mix Fortitude with Temperance. For, as by the one, Man aſpireth to that which is noble; ſo by the other, he thinks it no

derogation to him to be humble; and b
ing thus in *æquilibrio*, he inclines neith
to this ſide, nor that; ſo that he ſhall nev
dare, nor doubt too much. And as by Fo
titude we are able to repulſe injury, ſo
Temperance and Moderation we abſta
from offering injury. By the former, w
are prompted to an honeſt becoming vi
lence; by the latter, we are inſtructed
check and curb hair-bain'd fury, and
quench the flames of a vindicative ſpir
Now, it is the opinion of *Plato*, that t
Muſical and Gymnaſtical Sciences co
duce much to theſe qualifications; For
the one, Temperance, and the other Vertu
may be referred; to the other, Fortitu
of body, and magnanimity of min
Wherefore it is convenient, that they
both united, and walk hand in hand; b
cauſe the Gymnaſtick Exerciſes alon
create firmneſs; and Muſick of it ſelf, b
gets too much mildneſs and effeminacy
but both twinn'd and coupled together
any man, do mould him according to t
ſhape and perfection of Vertue. Ther
fore every perſon that would be thought
for counſel, muſt be thus exerciſed; b
cauſe hereby he is adapted both for pea
and war; and to this very purpoſe was
born

born; for he muſt be as able to perform the Office of a Commander, as a Counſellor: notable therefore, and worthy the mentioning, was that Roman Inſtitution, which impoſed a command upon them to train up their noble and honourable Citizens to be Counſellors at home, and Captains abroad: which is the reaſon, that *Rome* encloſed ſo great a number of Sage Senators and ſtout Souldiers within the circumference of her walls: Inſomuch that *Cyneas*, the Embaſſadour of *Pyrrhus*, having had audience of the ſplendid and illuſtrious Senate, reported, that in *Rome* he had ſeen an Aſſembly of many Kings. Nor can they be skill'd in commanding, if the Subjects are not exerciſed in obedience; which is performed by their love and honour to the Magiſtrate, as well as obeying their Commands; all which proceeds from the due execution of Laws: and the firſt ſtep that leads up to the Temple of Vertue, is to ſubmit to the Law, and the Law-maker: for the Law of every Kingdom, State, or Republick, is nothing but vertue, and a good *decorum* in the leading of our lives, reduced to certain rules. *Theopompus* King of *Sparta*, hearing it related that the reaſon why that Commonwealth flouriſhed ſo

much, proceeded from the Kings skill in Policy and Government; replied, No ſuch matter; for the true reaſon is this, The Subjects are well exerciſed in their duty and obedience to Superiours. And (as *Plutarch* hath it) to obey the Magiſtracie and the Laws, to undergo all dangers and travels with patience, to fight manfully, and die voluntarily, was the chief point of the Lacedemonian diſcipline. And herein they were all trained; to the end, that being thus inſtructed, they might know how to defend their Country in time of War, govern it in time of Peace; and ſuch as live privately, to employ their vacant hours honeſtly, that is, in the proſecution of Learning; obtaining a becoming geſture, muſick, painting, vaulting, and the like, that they may keep themſelves in action, and be freed from that groſs imputation of ignorant. It behoves him alſo to be witty and docible. Now, Wit is a certain natural force of reaſon, able to conceive what is rational; which, although many times it be not helpt by induſtry, art or memory, yet it is powerful of it ſelf, and without learning may burniſh a man. Wherefore he muſt ſo know his own wit, as to become ſharp in reaſon, and finding out the cauſe

of

of things: which of it ſelf is a happineſs, and that a great one too; as the Poet ſings,

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoſcere cauſas.

Nay, wiſdom her ſelf, whereby we firſt conceive all things, ſprings from acuteneſs of wit: Now, they that are adorned with them both, are termed ingenious; and that wit is the beſt, and moſt to be commended, which is conſtant, ſtrong, ſharp, pleaſant, and natural. Now, the edge of ingenuity is very much acuated by the whetſtone of docility and memory: By the one, we are taught to make a conſtruction of thoſe things that are laid before us; by the other, we retain whatſoever proceeds from our invention, or the expreſſions of others; therefore it is requiſite our Counſellor ſhould be well exerciſed in theſe accompliſhments: for, it is an argument of a dull, ſlow, ignorant perſon, not to have a quick conception of what is ſaid, and a tenacious memory to recollect what hath been ſpoken by others. Now next, he muſt have Underſtanding: For as wit is the ornament of a Senator, ſo Underſtanding is the light of wit, by which we con-

ceive all things, or their *Idæa's*, whether true or falſe. For, by common underſtanding we comprehend the knowledge of things, and thereby paſs a judgement on them, and conclude, all that is honeſt is to be referred to vertue, and what is unlawful or diſhoneſt, to vice: yet this underſtanding is not ſeparated from the Senſes, who are, as it were, Interpreters and Reporters of knowledge; yet muſt we be careful to avoid being deceived by ſenſual judgement; for it is frequently known, that either art or ſubtilty, ſingly or joyntly, play the cheat with us; which errour is to be diligently avoided. Beſides, he muſt be circumſpect, not only in private, but publick chances and events: For he muſt endeavour to foreſee all bluſtring ſtorms that may be injurious to the State, and ſtudy the preſervation of every member thereof. This that we call circumſpection, is a careful and mature conſideration of things to be practiſed or acted; and of great importance, as well in the ſerene time of peace, as in the bluſtring ſeaſon of war; becauſe that wiſe circumſpection diverts the force and fury of Fortune, and we are ready to ſubmit to grave counſel and advice. In this vertue *Quintus Fabius* did excell; for he

he according to the Poet, by procraſtination and lingring delay, preſerved the Roman State.

Unus homo nobis cunctando reſtituit rem.

But on the contrary, *Flaminius* relying upon the arm of ſtrength, and his courage, incircumſpectly aſſaulted *Hannibal*, to his great diſadvantage and prejudice. So *Q. Scipio* the Conſul, with divers that might be mentioned, through their incircumſpection were infeſted by the *Cimbri*. And it is as uſeful in time of peace: for the Senator ſhould be eyed like *Argus*, and *Lynx*-ſighted, to pry narrowly into thoſe things that might ariſe to the diſcommodity of the Commonwealth, and make a diſcovery of them; otherwiſe, he cannot prevent the ſeditions, wars, and calamities that dayly happen to the prejudice of the Commonwealth. Some men are ſo ignorant and blinded with ſuperfluity and pleaſure, that they can hardly diſcern things that are placed before their eyes, much leſs foreſee them; which ſort of men, as perſons given up to their private more than the publike intereſt, are to be exempted from Government. For, though they underſtand that

that through want of circumſpection war threatens a Nation, the people are captivated, the Country run over and ruinated, Towns ſack'd, Houſes burnt, fields waſted, Temples profaned; yet uſe they no circumſpection, counſel, and medicine, either to cure or cool their fury or rage. But the grave Counſellor ſtudies by what means to continue the common ſafety and welfare of a Country or Kingdom: He provideth, that the rage of a barbarous enemy may be beaten back or reſtrained by Fortreſſes, Pallizadoes, and Garriſons; that Caſtles and Bulwarks may be erected, the places of defence fortified, and all breaches ſtopt up; all which thus ordered, check the fury of an inſulting enemy, and annihilate his barbarous deſign and intention to bring all to deſtruction. Now there being a convention of well-trained Citizens, armed and ready to oppoſe, the Commonwealth is thereby fortified, (and the Lacedemonians call ſtout men the walls of *Sparta*) diſdaining the force of forrein enemies, and preventing their offering violence.

As for his Speech, he muſt be compendious, curt and grave, in all his Orations that he pens, or Speeches that he makes

makes; as *Horace* adviſeth him,

In verbis etiam tenuis, cautuſque ſerendis.

For, a raſh inconſiderate ſpeech, is not ſo ſoon called back as pronounced; and the unadviſed utterance thereof, may prejudice the Commonwealth, and afford the Orator matter of repentance. And the reaſon is this, becauſe in an *extempore* ſpeech we pour out and divulge many things that are to be concealed.

Nor muſt our Senator be overſwayed by Paſſion; for, paſſion is like falſe poſition in Verſe, nine faults at leaſt. Now it is the nobleſt piece of wiſdom under the heavens, for a man to monarchize over himſelf, ſo as to ſubjugate and conquer his affections, according to that known verſe,

Fortior eſt qui ſe, quam qui fortiſſima vincit
Mœnia——

It is a greater piece of valour for a man to ſubdue and curb his hair-brain'd paſſion, than to conquer the ſtouteſt enemy. Beſides, when he is put upon a parley with the enemy, a treaty with Embaſſadors, or a conference with neighbouring Princes, he

he must be very circumspect; for their endeavour is to discover secrets by conjecture, and fish out the design intended by circumstances and signs. Wherefore he must have a constant fixed resolution, and a composed countenance; for the changing of the countenance, motion of the eyes, and variety of gesture, are the bewrayers of mens minds, as *Gondamore* well observed; and indeed, *facies est index rerum*. One may soon read a mans mind in his face, and by the calculation of his looks guess at his intentions. And as he must not be too credulous, no more must he be altogether incredulous, unless the reputation of the matter or person compel him to it; Since it is very unseemly, and beneath the gravity of a judicious Senator, to maintain a controversie against an apparent truth. Neither would we confine him to an absolute silence, or padlock his mouth, so as to debar him of that excellent gift of speech; for, thereby he may be thought stupid or effeminate, since the one is imputed to ignorance, and the other to a kind of maidenly modesty, or misbecoming bashfulness. Therefore he must use a mean between both; yet so, that he be a greater hearer than speaker: Nature bestowed on man a pair of

of ears, and but one ſingle tongue. Yet, notwithſtanding all this, it muſt needs be judged as great a piece of diſcretion to know when to be ſilent, as well as how, where, to whom, and in what place to ſpeak.

Next, Sagacity and craftineſs is requiſite: for, War was never more politickly managed, Armies more ſecurely governed, nor the plots and machinations of ſubtile enemies more wiſely undermined, or overthrown, than by the vertue of caution; which he that wants, can no way be termed a Captain General. Now, Sagacity is a ſharp and pleaſant conceit; and as it is the property of a wiſe man to conſult well, ſo it is the part of an apprehenſive ſpirit, ingeniouſly to underſtand, and paſs a ſolid ſentence or judgement of what another ſpeaketh. And as he muſt be quick of apprehenſion, ſo it is likewiſe neceſſary that he be crafty and ſubtill in ſearching and prying into the thoughts of Subjects, to the end he may underſtand what they deſire, what they expect or hope for, and what their inclination binds them moſt unto. By which means, he will not only keep the Subject cloſe to his lawful obedience, but alſo by knowing their intended conſpira-

conſpiracies, prevent the evil thereof. For, ſometimes debauched Subjects aime at the deſtruction of ſober ſolid perſons; induced thereunto, or rather ſeduced, by hate, malice, or inſolency; ſometimes becauſe they find themſelves inferiour to others in riches, dignity or authority; and ſometimes becauſe they imagine themſelves to be inconſiderable, and of little or no eſteem in the Kingdom, Republick, or State wherein Providence hath allotted them their being and reſidence: And ſo by theſe means, create war, and cauſe ſedition, and reduce the State to an apparent hazard. In ſuppreſſing theſe commotions and cogitations of wicked men, he muſt be cloſe and reſerved, not dealing openly, or by direct oppoſition; but rather by ſoft perſwaſion, kind admonition, earneſt entreaty, or favourable chaſtiſement, reduce them to a better temper, and furniſh them with more honeſt principles. But, if he deal with a refractory ſtubborn people, he muſt menace them with authority, and terrifie them with ſeverity, that ſo he may divert them from ſuch execrable enterpriſes; perpetually meditating on the conſervation of the Commonwealth, which is conſummated by his endeavour for the felicity of Subjects,

jects, and his extirpation of ſedition and diſcord, with their efficient cauſes.

Ariſtotle ſaith, that a man may ſpeak doubtfully upon any occaſion twice, and be excuſed: but if he trip the third time, he is permitted to ſpeak no more in that cauſe. Nor muſt he be tedious or prolix; for a long-winded Oration, cram'd with cart-rope ſpeeches, longer than the memory of man can fathom, doth but talk them into dulneſs, and ſooner ſtupifie their minds than quicken their attentions. And he muſt likewiſe ſuit his diſcourſe to the capacity of his Auditory; for, he prodigals a Mine of Excellency (ſaith one of our Learned Gentlemen) that waſts a terſe Oration to an ignorant aſſembly, where *Mercury* himſelf, were he Orator, would loſe his labour. Therefore as his ſpeech muſt not be over-long, (a fault that *Ceſar* ſometimes found *Cato* guilty of, and reproved him for) no more muſt it be obſcured with ænigmatical ſentences, or intricate words, which puzzle the Auditors rather than profit them; and by labouring in the explication of the terms, make them forget the ſubject and matter of the diſcourſe.

Now it importeth not much whether his ſpeech

ſpeech be penn'd or rehearſed; yet the reaſons written are more ſolid, and penn'd with more diligence, if the matter require a long Oration.

His voice ſhould be manly, promiſing of gravity, not effeminacy, clear and audible; not ſo low as cannot well be heard, nor ſo loud as to be term'd bawling.

And as he muſt be moderate in his ſpeech, ſo it is requiſite that he be of a temperate mind. Now, Nature hath ſo ordered it, that there is a kind of combate or contention between the mind and body of man, ſuſpending and diverting his diſpoſition from the true end of vertue. For, the alluring irretiating luſts of the body do labour to oppreſs and enſlave the mind; and the mind armed and fortified with reaſon, doth endeavour to reſiſt and oppugn them: and that vertue of mind is called Temperance, which is employed in contemning all pleaſures, eſpecially thoſe that are known by the ſenſes, as Taſte, and Touch; yet doth it not generally deteſt all pleaſures, but only thoſe that thwart vertue and reaſon. Now, ſome pleaſures there are by nature lawful, and others unlawful; and both incident to the mind, as well as the body. The corporeal pleaſures are bred

bred up and born with us, ſo that with difficulty are they reſtrained, eſpecially in thoſe men that take more delight and complacency in the exerciſes of the body than thoſe of the mind, which renders them brutiſh and ſenſual. Therefore the body muſt ſubmit to the checks and controulment of the mind, and by this means man may attain perfection. All Vertues conduce to the felicity of a Kingdom, but Temperance alone is the preſervatrix of felicity; for it keeps the State from that infection which oftentimes ariſeth from exceſs and immoderation, and hath ſubverted many famous Cities and Countries. Now every Senator ought to furniſh the Kingdom with ſuch Laws as may puniſh riot and exceſs, leſt the Subject being poyſon'd therewith, Covetouſneſs ſpring up among them, the mother of all Vices. We read, that in *Rome* there were Laws and Ordinances made and enacted againſt exceſs both in expences and apparel. The Lacedemonians did alſo keep their feaſts in publike places, that no man ſhould dare to be waſtful in the ſight of other Citizens, and ſo encourage them to an imitation of their luxurioufneſs or extravagancy. Heretofore, the Magiſtrates of *Gallia Belgica* al-

lowed of no Law nor Cuſtome that might make the people effeminate. And at this day, licentiouſneſs and immoderate expences are inhibited by Law in ſome parts of *Italy*. And ſince the luſts of men are inſatiable, (as appears by *Catiline* and his fellow-conſpirators, who being thriftleſs and licentious perſons, attempted to make war againſt the Commonwealth) they muſt be held in with the bridle of the Law. And the Senator muſt be free from intemperancy, that ſo he may be an example for others to follow and imitate; wherein let him take pattern by the ſeverity of the *Cenſores*, who were the Maſters and Tutors of civil temperance and modeſty: and ſo by private admonition, as well as publike caſtigation, he may withdraw them from intemperance. Nor is this vertue without her Concomitants, Modeſty, Baſhfulneſs, Honeſty, and Continency. And by theſe, mans life is beautified, adorned, and made happy. Modeſty (ſay the Stoicks) is a vertue that containeth the knowledge of decent ſpeech and action. And whatſoever we ſpeak or do, we ought to obſerve a mean, leſt we expatiate on a ſubject more largely than neceſſity requires, forgetting the Counſel of *Solon*, *Ne*

qui

quid nimis. Wherefore tye your ſelf to a comely *decorum* in all your words and actions, compoſing your countenance, eyes, geſture, motion, and your whole body to a modeſt poſture, that the ſimplicity and integrity of your intentions may thereby be made manifeſt and apparent.

Baſhfulneſs ſometimes gains a man much commendation; and this qualification renders a man honeſt, and induceth him to lead a good life, becauſe in all actions it inſtructs how to avoid all reproach, obloquy, and villany. And as Juſtice forbids the wronging of a perſon by act or deed; ſo Baſhfulneſs teacheth a man not to be offended: for a good man doth not only voluntarily abſtain from doing injury, but is, as it were, frightned from it by Baſhfulneſs. Yet I mean not here, that Baſhfulneſs that is frequent with young men, and Offenders, becauſe they are compelled or conſtrained to that kind of ſhamefac'dneſs; and that perturbation of mind doth misbecome a grave and temperate perſon; but that that we hunt after, ariſeth from a vertuous diſpoſition, and ſo gets a certain habit or exerciſe, accompanied with a fixed reſolution to avoid all evill: ſo that if at any time through ignorance an errour be

committed, we remain aſhamed; which
commendable. *Julius Cæſar* engaged wi
Pompeius the younger at *Corduba*, perce
ving his men ready to retreat, and ſeek f
refuge by their heels, ſteps out into t
front, and there in perſon behaved himſe
manfully; which the Souldiers ſeeing, cou
not for ſhame but turn about, and face t
enemy again; being, partly by the valo
of their General, and partly by their ow
ſhamefac'dneſs, inſtigated thereunto.

There is in man a certain natural i
ſtinct of honeſty, prompting and ſpurri
him on to the performance of all lawf
actions, and diverting him from the perp
tration of what is unlawful; which pr
ceedeth from vertue; and therein her di
nity reſteth, though ſometimes it ariſe
from fame, glory and opinion. Now,
that through diligent obſervation unde
ſtandeth what is meant by meaſure, orde
and gravity, and obſerves this ſweet *dec
rum* in his words and actions, making it h
chiefeſt care not to think or ſpeak a
thing unſeemly, effeminate, or licen
ous, may be termed honeſt; and the pow
of honeſty is ſo great, that of it ſelf it ſu
ficeth to diſſwade men from an ignomin
ous life.

Among the number of vertues required in our Senator, Continency & Abſtinency challenge no mean place; for, they not only contemn the *illecebræ*, or allurements of inordinate deſires, but alſo withhold our eyes from beholding, or our hands from faſtning on them. Nor is there a more noble ſpectacle, than to ſee men contented with what nature and induſtry hath allotted, without coveting what appertains to others; which they might eaſily do, did they but conſider, that *Natura paucis contenta:* Nature will be ſatisfied with mean commons. *Paulus Æmylius* is highly extolled for his continency, who converted no part of the vaſt wealth that was brought out of *Macedonia* and *Spain* to his own private uſe, but delivered the whole into the publike Exchequer; chooſing rather to be termed poor, than branded with the name of deceitful: And after his expiration, his goods being ſold under the Launce (*uti mos erat*, according to cuſtome) there was not left a ſufficient competency for his Wife to live on. The example of *Scipio Africanus* is admirable, who in his greener years, at the taking of *Carthage*, being but twenty years old, had there (among many other captives) a Virgin of incomparable

beauty, yet did he not offer to deflower her, but gave her to a man unto whom ſhe was formerly betrothed; and beſtowed all that gold upon her for a dowry, which her friends offered for her redemption. We therefore judge it neceſſary that our Senator be continent, imitating *Pericles* in his advice to *Sophocles* his Aſſociate, and Prætor at *Rome*; who fixing his eye on a beautiful Roman Damoſel, whom they met accidentally in their way to the Senate-houſe, and being ſomewhat too large in her commendation; told him, that a Senator muſt not only keep hands free from corruption, but alſo chaſte eyes, that caſt no wanton glances, becauſe they are grand inſtigations to luſt. Wherefore, it was judged an act of diſcretion in *Cato* the Cenſor, to turn *Lucius Quintus Flaminius* out of the Senate for his incontinency; becauſe he being Conſul in *France*, permitted a common Strumpet, at her requeſt, to ſtrike a Priſoner that had his Sentence paſt, without offence. Nay, *Manlius* was deveſted of that dignity, for kiſſing his own Wife in the ſight of his own Daughter. And *Saluſtius* for adultery, and light actions, was excluded from ſitting (had it been ſo with us, *Henry Martin* had never reſted ſo long in

in the Parliament-Houſe.) I omit ſpeaking of *Alexander* the Great, with many more, who by their continency gain'd no leſs honour than by their martial triumphs.

Now, it is moſt certain, that there is nothing brings more diſhonour to the dignity of a Senator, than a leud, debauched, incontinent life; becauſe it procureth private obloquy or reproach, and defaceth, or at leaſt blemiſheth the Majeſty of commanding.

Sardanapalus ſpun out his daies among the Diſtaff-bearers, I mean women, conſuming all his time in incontinent exerciſes, waſting both his internal and external ſubſtance upon wanton women, and the pleaſing his guſt; as appears by that Epitaph, which, living, he commanded to be engraven on his Tomb,

Ede, Bibe, Lude.

Which *Ariſtotle* chancing to ſpy, ſtopt, and read; and ſmiling, ſaid, It was fitter to be fixed on the grave of an Oxe, than the Tomb of a Prince.

All pleaſures that are not reduced to neceſſity and honeſty, are reproachful; and

thoſe above all, draw men to vice and uncleanneſs moſt, that are diſcerned by the touch and taſte. Wherefore the Counſellor muſt be careful, that neither his own, nor the life of his Subjects, be implunged into the mire of voluptuouſneſs and obſcenity; which may be ſoon effected, by removing all occaſions of intemperancy. The Lacedæmonians uſed to ſhew their drunken ſervants to their children, that they, beholding their ſordidneſs and beſtiality, might abhor the vice of exceſſive compotation. But it were to be wiſhed that we could follow, as well as read theſe inſtances. Great was the moderation and temperance of the Ancients in their diet; for, they lived not to eat, but did eat to live: Though in theſe our modern times the plague of intemperance is ſo epidemical, that more men are infected with, and periſh thereby, than by the rage or fury of war; and it is the mode for them to drink other mens healths ſo long, till at laſt they drink away their own. Who would not then commend *M. Curius* the Roman Senator, that had rather the Embaſſadors ſent by the Samnites ſhould find him at a homely ſupper, quenching his thirſt in a woodden Bowl, than ſurrounned or accommodated with all the variety

Nature

Nature or Art could afford? Nay, he refuſed the Gold they preſented him with; ſaying, I had rather command thoſe that are rich, than be rich. I need not mention *Fabricius*, *Fabius*, *Tubero*, *Cato* and *Scipio*, whoſe temperate and ſober lives have eternized their names. *Hortenſius* went not without a reproof, for preſenting his Gueſts with a boyl'd Peacock, at a Supper prepared for the Augurs. And *Caſſius* was thought intemperate, for drinking a little water in publike, and not enduring thirſt for a ſmall time. Yet do we not tye our Senator to ſo much ſtrictneſs, but only to moderation in all things. *Duronius* was removed from the Senate, becauſe that he being a Tribune, made null the Law for the reſtraint of feaſting.

Surely, the Roman State was altogether happy in ſuch Senators, that were not only Maſters of Counſel, but Tutors of Vertue and good Manners. Now, that the people of *Rome* were temperate, even to admiration, may be conjectured from what is reported of them: when the preſents which *Pyrrhus* King of *Epire*, after his overthrow, brought to *Rome*, were publikely ſhewn, hoping thereby to gain the good will of the People, there was not one among

among them, that did ſo much as offer
ſtretch forth his hand to lay hold on any
them; ſo as that King ſaw himſelf twi
vanquiſhed at once, as well by continenc
as force of arms. But, when exceſs foun
footing in *Rome*, after the victory obtain
in *Aſia*, and that the people began to wa
tonize through plenty and idleneſs; on
ſudden, the civil diſcipline of Temperan
and Parſimony was neglected; and in lie
thereof, Avaritiouſneſs attended with
Legion of other vices, ſoon entred amon
the Roman Legions, and (if we may cre
dit *Saluſt*) brought their City to a ſad an
lamentable Cataſtrophe. Nor indeed i
there any thing that ſooner works th
ruine of King, Kingdom, and Subjects
than exceſs. *Diogenes* ſeeing a Bill upo
the door of a Prodigals houſe, whic
ſhewed it was to be let; ſaid, I knew ver
well that Houſe was ſo full of meat an
wine, that ere long it would vomit out th
Maſter. Now 'tis moſt certain, that immo
derate pampering, and exceſſive drinking
waſteth the ſtrength of the body, and pre
judiceth the mind. Notable is that Law o
Solon, whereby that Senator was thought
to deſerve death, that was addicted to th
vice of drunkenneſs.

Philip

Philip the Macedonian King being overcome with drink, paſt ſentence upon a woman: ſhe forthwith made her appeal; and being demanded to whom, replied, To *Philip* being ſober. And without doubt, exceſs in drinking depraves the judgement of man; inſomuch, that Kings are made Slaves, old Folks become Children, Wiſe men are infatuated and made fools, and fools turned to mad men. But our Senator ſhall obſerve the old rule:

——Μέτρον δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστον.

A *medium* is to be obſerved in all things: we muſt eat and drink for neceſſity, not fatiety; following the advice of the Poet *Anacharſis*, who uſually ſaid, The firſt draught was of neceſſity, the ſecond of ſuperfluity, and the third of madneſs. Beſides, it were unſeemly in a Counſellor to have bloud-ſhot eyes, a furious countenance, and a ſtammering ſpeech; all which imperfections are the cuſtomary attendants of drunkenneſs: Nor will it become him, overcome with meat or drink, to ſnore away the night, but only to uſe both with ſo much moderation, as that they may only continue health, and make the body agile

and

and fit for action. For, by moderate diet we find, not only the mind, but the body more ſubmiſſive and obedient; when as ſatiety and exceſs is the ſepulchre of the one, and the corruption of the other. We find *Troy* to be ruinated through the exceſs of the Inhabitants; when as otherwiſe it might have ſtood to this day:

Invadant urbem ſomno, vinoque ſepultam.

But, although we diſcommend exceſs in both, as a thing misbecoming, and very hainous; yet our Senator muſt be ſure not to be avaricious, niggardly, and cloſe-fiſted, becauſe it is an argument of a baſe ſervile ſpirit, to debar himſelf of that comlineſs and order that is required in the Family of ſuch a perſon. Therefore private exceſs muſt be baniſhed, and publike magnificence maintained; and as needleſs and ſuperfluous delicacy is to be avoyded much more than penury and niggardlineſs; And, as immoderate expences are known to be prejudicial both to the Eſtate, Body, and Mind: ſo neceſſary and convenient fare is both comly and wholſome; and this muſt be obſerved with reſpect to the place, time and perſons. For, we read, that

L. Tu-

L. Tubero making a publike Feaſt, covered all his Beds with the skins of Kids; and in ſo doing was judged indiſcreet, and ignorant in the knowledge of what appertained to publike honour and dignity; and for this ſame fact, loſt the Office of Prætor. Notable was that quip that a Duke beſtowed upon a Prince, to this purpoſe; who with his noble retinue being invited to a Collation, the Prince altogether ignorant of any mode uſed at Court, or indeed common civility, ſuffered them to be ſeated without cuſhions; which the Duke perceiving, put his Cloak under him in lieu thereof; and all his followers in imitation of him, did the ſame; and after their repaſt, left their Cloaks upon the ſtools, and were departing: at which the Prince ſomewhat amazed, told them, they forgot their cloaks: No, no, replied the Duke, an 't pleaſe your Majeſty, it is not our cuſtome to be ſo uncivil, as to carry our Cuſhions along with us: then did he begin to underſtand the miſtake, and went away aſhamed. Next to Temperance, Juſtice is a Vertue to be very much followed by our Senator; of which in the next Chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of Juſtice and her concomitants, which our Senator ought to be adorned with.

NAture hath made all things in themſelves good, certain, perfect, and in all reſpects abſolute; which was the reaſon that induced the Stoick to believe, that to live according to Nature was the chief felicity of man: for, Nature is the Conductrix & Tutoreſs of perfect life, inſtructing us in our obedience to the Author thereof. Now, this harmony of Nature may be fitly called Juſtice; for, this is that Vertue (and indeed *Regina Virtutum*, the Queen of all Vertues) which labours in defence of the Law, and preſervation of the conſent of Nature; ſince whatſoever complies with Nature, is Juſt; and what diſſenteth, unjuſt. Such men therefore, that follow the dictates of Nature, are juſt; being it is contrary to Nature to think ill either of God or Man. Whereupon Juſtice is of three ſorts, (though there be many ſubdiviſions) Natural, Humane, and Divine.

The

The first foundation of Justice natural, proceeds from Nature her self; which informes us to do as we would be done by: *Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris.* This natural equity commandeth us to abstain from doing injury, or offending of any person whatsoever. And by this ligament, men are conglutinated or co-united with a mutual affection and bond of amity. In that Age, which is known by the name of *Ætas aurea*, among the Poets; by the help of natural Justice only, deceit, fraud, or injury had no residence upon Earth; they were *non-entia*, no such things to be found in Nature. Then was there no sedition, tumults, or hatred; but benevolence, fidelity, true love, and real affection. The Lawyers Profession was not in use, pleading and wrangling was unknown to them; for, equity and Justice determined all things, and all things were common; every man thought that his own goods did belong as much to his neighbour as to himself. They that lived in that Age were enforced and confined to vertue and honesty, because they knew not vice, and by natural instinct were stimulated to the exercise of Justice. Of this happy time *Ovid* sings most excellently.

Aurea

Aurea prima ſata eſt ætas, quæ vindice nullo,
Sponte ſuâ, ſine lege, fidem rectumque colebat;
Pœna, metuſque aberant, nec ſupplex turba time-
Judicis ora ſui, ſed erant ſine judice tuti. (*ba*

But, as ſoon as the Sun of truth declined, and began to be obſcured with the caligi-nous miſts of vice; immediately the minds of men were depraved, and they headlong without fear or wit implunged themſelves into an Ocean of filthineſs. Then every man ſhielded himſelf againſt Vertue, quite contrary to his former principles; but af-terwards it was a practice among them, lawful, to ſcandalize and prejudice all per-ſons, whether in goods, or good name; to lead a brutiſh, inhumane life; abuſe that excellent gift of Reaſon, and employ it in the exerciſe of vice; as the ſame Poet hath it,

Protinus erupit venæ pejoris in ævum
Omne nefas, fugere pudor, verumque, fideſque,
In quorum ſubiere locum, fraudeſque, dolique,
Inſidiæque, & vis, & amor ſceleratus habendi.

And ſurely that deluge of impiety had over-run the whole race of mankind, had not

not the force of nature and reaſon in ſome few, oppoſed, and ſtood as a trench againſt the fury of this inundation. That ſmall reſidue of men (proclaiming war againſt vice) did ſo work upon them (that lived like brutes) by perſwaſion, as to reduce them to humanity; informing them how to live, not only by words, but alſo by works; what Civility, Vertue, and Honour was, and what was the original of Laws in Cities and Countries: ſo that hereby they might be inſtructed in thoſe things that were good, honeſt, and civill. From hence the precepts of vertue took their original, and vaſt volumes of the duty and manners of men were compoſed. This conſideration of humane nature and the Univerſe, was epitomized in one word by the Grecians, *viz.* Σοφία, or wiſdome; and the Authors thereof were termed Σοφοὶ, or Wiſemen, who afterwards (according to the example of *Pythagoras*,) named themſelves Philoſophers. And by this means the light of humane reaſon and nature, that was benegroed with the clouds of vice, did reaſſume its priſtine luſtre and ſplendor, and endowed us with the knowledge of divine and humane things; which knowledge is called Philoſophy. Thus was that golden

world reſtored. Now, that duty which natural Juſtice prompts us to obſerve to our Parents, is called Piety; which was the reaſon, that *Æneas* by the *Homer* of our Latine Poets was ſtyled Pious *Ænæas*. The Daughter of *Cimon* was adorned with this Vertue; for ſhe fed her Father with her own milk, being condemned to die, and thereby did eternize her name. This Juſtice doth alſo oblige us to nouriſh and cheriſh all perſons in diſtreſs; defend and govern himſelf: for, he that by wilful obſtinacy deſtroys himſelf by famine, negligence, or violent death, is judged an enemy, and no friend to Nature. By this Juſtice natural, we are engaged to relieve and refreſh our neceſſi ated friends and neighbours, and by generation to propagate poſterity; which is called *nodoſa æternitas*: propagation is a knotty Eternity; for, by the iſſue of our loyns we do as it were tye a knot, and thereby lengthen our name and family. *Socrates* defineth this natural Juſtice thus: It is the Science of good and evill according to nature; which that man that exerciſes, deſerves the term of a good man; and if he communicate it to others, the title of a good Citizen; becauſe then he is not only beneficial to himſelf, but to others

others alſo. They that Nature hath been ſo prodigal unto, as to beſtow ſingular gifts, and incomparable endowments on, ought to tranſcend all others in this natural Juſtice, as much as they do in their natural parts; otherwiſe they will have but a mean repute (if any at all) in the world.

The next is Juſtice divine; whereby we are obliged and bound to acknowledge, love, honour, reverence, adore, and worſhip God: And it hath pleaſed Nature to implant this knowledge in man; as if thereby ſhe would intimate unto us, that all other creatures do only feed and pamper their bodies, whenas Man ſhould aime at a more noble marke, *viz.* the Deity. Nor is there any people upon earth but adore ſome God or other, and hold it a duty incumbent upon every one of them ſo to do. Now all the ſubſtance and force of this Juſtice is contained in Religion, which is the worſhip of God. But being that is a different ſubject from what we intend to expatiate on, we ſhall leave the proſecution thereof to the Clergy.

Humane Juſtice, which is alſo termed ſometimes civil, is of an obſcure and hidden nature; for, although it receive its

being from Juſtice natural, and therefore the precepts and uſe thereof carry little or no ſeeming difficulty along with them; yet is it not truly conceived, unleſs it be by ſuch who are either endued with a kind of divine nature, or have been employed in all ſorts of vertue. For, this Vertue requireth a Learned, Wiſe man, who reaſonably, conſtantly and voluntarily practiſeth it. And ſuch our Senator ſhould be.

All civil Juſtice conſiſts, partly in the preſervation of humane ſociety, and is partly exerciſed in a Court of Judicature. This Vertue approveth of no unlawful, cruel, or barbarous action; but embraceth honeſty, tranquillity and peace; endeavouring to keep men from ſedition, malice, and enmity; not coveting *aliena bona*; but, *unicuique ſuum tribuens*; gives every one their due. By this Vertue our Counſellor becomes a defender of the common people; the Protector of the innocent and Orphans; and a debaſer of the proud and haught: a Lover of thoſe that are good, a friend to truth, and an enemy to vice, and conſequently to vicious perſons. The foundation of this Vertue is fidelity; which *Cicero* defines to be a conſtant and true performer of promiſe. A juſt Senator

therefore

therefore affirms the truth, ſticks cloſe to his promiſe; ſtandeth to compacts; reſtoreth what he borrows; and is not compelled to be faithfull by Law, teſtimony, or oath, but by his own free will and conſcience; labouring to keep under injuſtice, and to ſee that the weaker ſort be not overpowred by the ſtronger; that might overcome not right. Valiant men, in his judgement, deſerve to be crowned with reward; and idle, puny-ſpirited ſubjects, the laſh of puniſhment; and by theſe two, puniſhment and preferment, the benefit of a Commonwealth is infinitely promoted. In the diſtribution of offices, he is directed by the rule of uprightneſs and equity; hating to be greaz'd in the fiſt with bribery, reputing thoſe worthy of moſt ample honour, who can lay claim to the greateſt merit. Which is a thing to be very much inſiſted on in a Kingdom, or Republick; becauſe, *Honos virtutes præmium*, Honour is the reward of vertue; and as due to a deſerving perſon, as wages to an hired ſervant: which was the reaſon, that wrought the Antients to erect ſtately Images, triumphal Arches; and publike ſepulchres, open commendation, and the like, were conferred on men of ſervice and deſert. Now they that are

nobly educated, vertuously enclined, grave and ancient, deserve honour and reverence; and that either by bowing the head or body, in giving them place: And, as goods are of three sorts, *viz.* goods of the mind, goods of the body, and goods of Fortune; so they are all in conferring of honour to be respected. Therefore those of the mind assume the first place; those of the body the next, and those of Fortune the last, as the meanest in value and worth, though now adaies of most esteem in the eye of the World. All these things our Senator must be skill'd in; and in the distribution of offices, and conferring of honours, he must observe equality, the balance of Justice; wherewith every mans manners, vertues and actions are poized and examined. In which he must be very circumspect and unbyassed, lest he prove partial, leaning to one side more than another; and so come off with the term of an unequal Judge. For, he that bestows honour, and accumulates favours upon the undeserving, doth a manifest injury to those that can plead desert; and so by consequence is an unjust Judge. Wherefore Philosophers give us a definition of this justice, as followeth: It is an habit of the mind destined to com-

mon

mon utility; giving honour to every person that may be judged worthy of it. And among those vertues that plead for an interest in humane society, equality is neither the last, nor the least; the exercising the office of a Handmaid or Lady of honour to that Queen of Vertues, Justice: Nor doth she remove a hairs-breadth from her, but sticks close to her principles and precepts. Now this equality in just pondering and weighing things, and persons, useth a double manner of proceeding; the one ordinary, and the other common; one judging by number, weight, and measure; the other more difficile and secret, that is, weighing every thing by reason and judgement. Which knowledge is only attained by wise men, and those that are exercised in great affairs, and matters of importance and weight; and the other by those that are chiefly employed in barrating, buying and selling. Let our Senator be skill'd in that knowledge that proceeds from reason and judgement, that he may thereby understand how to distribute offices, confer honours, bestow gifts, what is due to every person, just, good, and indifferent in all things, persons, and places. This equality is an excellent qualification, and of emi-

nefit uſe and ſervice in a Kingdom. And where Counſellors are ignorant therein, we find but raw and weak conſultation, and all things managed at randome, without any thing of certainty; to the diſturbance of publike ſociety.

Another kind of juſtice there is, which is commonly called juſtice forraign, not much unlike this before mentioned, chiefly converſant about judgement; whoſe foundation is the Law, and whoſe prop or ſupport is the judgement of wiſe, ſolid, diſcreet Senators. Before ſuch time (as is already mentioned) that written Laws were found out, each man was his own Legiſlator, and preſcribed his own peculiar Laws, not diving into the books of Law-makers or Doctors for precepts or inſtructions: For, then that pure and immaculate Virgin Juſtice had her reſidence in the mind of man, dictating unto him Laws and Precepts, whereby he led an upright life, without exerciſing any fraud, deceit or colluſion. But, as ſoon as men, tired with the ſtrict diſcipline of juſtice, began to covet their neighbours goods, offer injuries, and neglect the reſtauration of what they had taken up upon credit; immediately hate, diſſimulation, enmity and war ſprung up:

up, and gave way to the invention of martial weapons, as well offensive as defensive; and that in so furious a manner, as might force Justice, nay, compel *Jupiter* himself to give place: thus, as sweet-tongued *Ovid* sings,

——*Terras Astræa reliquit.*

She made her self wings, and flew to heaven for sanctuary, where ever since she hath taken up her habitation. And hence it is that we have recourse to heaven in our dayly Orizons for justice. *Homer* used to term Kings inspired with the wisdome of good Government, Sons of *Jupiter*: and we style them, Gods Vicegerents. And since reason cannot prevail with us so far, as thereby to lead a quiet, peaceable, and just life; we must have recourse to justice; who by her Laws admonisheth, corrects, and honours us, preparing rewards for good, and storing up punishments for evill actions. This justice (according to *Ulpianus*) is a constant desire, or fixed resolution to bestow upon every man that which of right belongs unto him. Now the ordaining and enacting of Laws, appertains to a Counsellor, as the most discreet person, and

fit for that office. And *Plato* teacheth, that these things are to be observed in constituting Laws, Acts, or Ordinances. The Legislator must enact them with a paternal love, that may cause a reciprocation of filial duty: not with a Lordly, tyrannical intent, yet framing them to the terror of malefactors, who neither regard Law, nor reason; according to that known Hexameter,

Sic volo, sic jubeo; stat pro ratione voluntas.

My will is the only Law that I own or acknowledge. Besides, he must be sure that his Laws contain no more prescription of commands, than discipline of manners; that the severity of the one may be mitigated by the gentleness of the other. And the intent and end of all Law is, that men may be felicitated thereby, as far as it comes within the compass of humanity; and that offenders may receive a punishment suitable to their crimes, of necessity, and not on set purpose: which moved *Justinian* to make a triple division of legal precepts: To live honestly, prejudice no man, and give to every one his due. He therefore that doth abandon the Law, and

follows

follows the dictates of his own corrupt will, contemning the Statutes of a Kingdom, is guilty of a notorious crime, as well as he that denies God, Nature, or Reason. *Heraclitus*, that ſtream'd away his time in tears, was wont to ſay, That all men were as deeply engaged to defend their Laws, as the walls of their City; and his reaſon was, becauſe that a wall-leſs City might be preſerved, but a Lawleſs one could never, by all the ſtrength of humane invention. For by Laws they expel idleneſs, the mother of Vice, which renders the mind effeminate, and makes it grow wanton. *Cato* ſaid as truly, as pithily, *Nihil agendo, male agere didicerunt*: By doing nothing, the people learn'd to do ill. *Diodorus* mentions a certain Law that was among the Ægyptians, whereby every Subject was compelled to give in his name to the Magiſtrates, withall declaring what kind of life he moſt affected, how he lived, and what Art he exerciſed: And if he were found to give a falſe account of his life, he was put to death. *Draco* ſeeing the Citizens waſteful, made a Law, that he that was found idle ſhould be executed; which being too ſevere and rigid, *Solon* did qualifie, puniſhing that offence with infamy only.

only. By the imperial Law it is provided, that idle, ſloathful, and thriftleſs Subjects be either whipt to death, or enſlaved. In every Kingdom there are certain exerciſes both for peace and war: Some are bred up Clergy-men, Counſellors, and Judges; others, Captains, Commanders, and Souldiers: that ſo the Kingdom may be furniſhed with Subjects in Peace or War, and by their actions the Country may be defended from the invading enemy, and her Territories or skirts enlarged. Nor muſt Laws be often altered; for, as ſoon as the people perceive any mutation, their minds being prone to innovation, they preſently deſire all the reſt be changed and ſubverted; though ſometimes neceſſity requires that they be corrected or reformed. The leaſt mutation in a Kingdom, is of dangerous conſequence, breeding a contempt of Laws, and ſedition alſo. Wherefore the *Locrenſes* had a Law, that if any man did invent a new Law, he ſhould propoſe it to the people in publike, with a halter about his neck; to the end, that if it were judged pernicious or unprofitable, he ſhould be forthwith hang'd, as an Author of evill. And it doth very much concern Princes and Counſellors to walk according to

thoſe

thoſe Laws they ordain; for it is odious to be *Legiſlator, & Legis violator*; a Law-maker, and a Law-breaker: for there is nothing that Subjects ſo much look upon, as the lives of their Superiors.

Regis ad exemplum totus componitor orbis.

All Nations, all the World over, follow the example of a King: which if he ſteer his actions according to Juſtice, finds Subjects obedient and loyal, who will keep cloſe to their allegeance. *Seleucus* made a Law, that whoſoever was taken in adultery ſhould be deprived of both his eyes. Afterwards his Son was found guilty of that Crime: his Subjects went to mediate, deſiring him to ſign his pardon; but their ſuit prevailed no otherwiſe, then that firſt he cauſed one of his Sons eyes to be put out, and then one of his own; that ſo the ſeverity and reputation of Law might be obſerved; and that the force thereof might be in more eſteem than the authority of men. The ends why Laws were ordained, were two: The one, that men may underſtand Juſtice, and have entertainment among them; the other, that it may continue. The firſt, is the duty of the Law-

maker,

maker, who frameth the people in the mould of Vertue. And the second is the Office of the Judge, who is to suppress the exorbitancies of offenders, and preserve the rights and priviledges of his Country. Now it often falls out, that dubious businesses, and those matters of concernment too, are brought before a Judge; expecting his determination. Wherefore he must reduce that to equality, which he thinketh unequal: not unlike a line cut into unequal parts, and that part which is found too long is cut shorter, and so added to the other: So doth the Judge, who is the Living Law and Oracle of the Kingdom. Nor must he pass a sentence upon any matter, or decide any cause, before he hath heard both Plaintiff and Defendant, and examined all their Witnesses: For, as *Seneca* hath it most excellently,

Qui statuit aliquid parte inaudita altera;
Æquum licet statuerit, haud æquus fuerit.

He must be voyd of all passion, hate, or partiality: one that scorns bribery, will not be daunted with menaces, or threatned out of the truth, or moved by the subtilty of adulation: for, where a Judge, Magistrate,

ſtrate, or Senator is ſubject to paſſion, there is little, or indeed no Juſtice in his Judicature: nor is there any one thing that poyſons a Commonwealth or Kingdom more, then corrupt and unjuſt Magiſtrates.

Juſtice of old was by Philoſophers painted like a beautiful Virgin, having a ſevere grave countenance, penetrating eyes, a chaſte look, inclining to gravity: which Image carries this repreſentation, that Judges ought to be incorrupt, chaſte, ſevere, ſharp-witted, good, grave, conſtant and inexorable. *Cambyſes*, King of *Perſia*, cauſed the skin of an unjuſt Judge to be flea'd, and hung up in the Court, as a terror to all thoſe that were unjuſt in their ſentence. *Solon* being demanded, How a Kingdom might beſt be preſerved; anſwered, By the Peoples obedience to Superiour authority, and the Magiſtrates ſubſcription to the Law. And *Bias* uſed to ſay, That place was moſt ſecure, where men ſtood in awe of the Law, no leſs than of a Tyrant. It is a ſhame and reproach to a Nation to have Laws, that like the Spiders web, entangle the weak and ſimple, and let the ſtrong and mighty eſcape. Which our Senator muſt very diligently obſerve, and continually provide that the Laws be preſerved inviolable.

Juſtice

Juſtice admits of another diviſion among Moral Philoſophers, and that is Diſtributive and Commutative. Juſtice Diſtributive, is that that reſpects equality in the diſtribution of reward or puniſhment, according to Geometrical proportion. For, as there are ſeveral degrees of crimes and offences perpetrated by the impious; ſo there are likewiſe of the merits of deſerving and vertuous perſons; In regard that the circumſtances of perſons, places, and time, do oftentimes aggravate the crime. As for inſtance; He that offends a Magiſtrate, deſerves a higher puniſhment than he that offends a private perſon: And he that commits an inſolency in the Church during divine ſervice, or in Court before a Judge ſitting upon the Bench, muſt be more ſeverely corrected, than if theſe circumſtances did not accompany the fault. And in like manner, the different conditions of men in the diſtribution of recompences, or conferring of honours, muſt be narrowly conſidered and pried into.

Wherefore it is apparent, that in the diſtribution of honour, as well as in the inflicting of puniſhment, this Geometrical proportion muſt be obſerved; becauſe that by this means we obſerve the ſame

propor-

proportion between perſons, as we do between things; and though there be an inequality of meaſure, yet will there be an equality of reaſon. As thus: He that hath a double ſhare of merit, twice as much as another man, deſerves a double recompence according to the Geometrical proportion, which differs from the Arithmetical, obſerved in Juſtice Commutative: for the latter reſpects the equality of quantity, and things diſtributable, without regard to the merits or demerits of a perſon.

Juſtice Commutative is that that looks upon equality and faith in contracts, bargains, humane commerces and negotiations; as buying, ſelling, borrowing, and the like. As for example; the ſame ſort of wine, oyl, corn, cloath, or other vendible commodities, is ſold to a Magiſtrate as well as to a Mechanick. But now let us come to her Concomitants.

And firſt of Piety; by which we pleaſe God, and get repute among men. *Numa Pompilius*, to get credit by the Religion that he framed for the Romans (counterfeiting Piety) induced them to believe that he and his Wife *Ægeria* uſed to convene with the Gods in a certain place conſecrated to

Camena, and there did receive the Laws and Religion the Romans were to follow: ſo that they that neither by the ſoftneſs of perſwaſion, nor the violence of compulſion could be reduced to Religion; by a counterfeit colour of Piety were brought to be very religious. And if ſo among them, how will the true Religion prevail among us that are Chriſtians? Yet in Religion two things are to be declined, *viz.* hereſie and ſuperſtition; which vices pervert weak inſtable perſons. There is likewiſe a certain kind of Piety due to Parents, by which we obey, reverence, and reſpect them.

Innocency is another of her Aſſociates; which Vertue affects ſimplicity, abhorring diſſimulation and hypocriſie; wherefore, fawning Sycophants, that Dog-like will προσκυνεῖν, fall down under your feet, and ſeem to adore you; Diſſemblers, that hold with the hare, and run with the hound; carry fire in one hand, and water in the other; and tale-bearers, that are *rimarum pleni*, full of chincks, no ſooner a ſecret can be committed to their keeping, but it drops from them like water through a ſieve; ſuch perſons are to have no place in the Catalogue of our Senators. And as no

no man might have admittance into the Temple of *Ceres Elucina*, but he that was innocent; there being this Superſcription over the Portal, *Let no man enter but he that knoweth his own innocency*: So into holy Council, which is the Temple of Juſtice and Truth, let no man have admittance, but he that is innocent, and of integrity. His mind muſt be open and ſincere, not obſcure or deceitful, ſaying one thing, and meaning another; his thoughts and his words muſt be Relatives; his tongue muſt be the true interpreter of his mind; and his face not ſhrowded with a fained diſguiſe, but full of natural ſincerity.

Courteous he muſt be; for an affable debonaire diſpoſition will ſcrue it ſelf into the good will of all men. He muſt hear with patience, and reply with diſcretion; free from all ſowerneſs and inſolency in words or action.

Benignity is another thing neceſſary; for as God is kind and gentle to us, ſo muſt we manifeſt our ſelves to thoſe that are a ſphere below us. He muſt therefore be gentle, mild, and of a ſweet diſpoſition: not auſtere, ſupercilious; and as *Timon* was, Μισάνθρωπος, A man-hater. For as to the Moderator of all things, Religion and Piety

is due; ſo is love and benevolence unto men.

Next, Clemency; which properly appertains to Magiſtrates, and men in authority; for by vertue hereof, the heat of their diſpleaſure towards Malefactors is abated, and they themſelves qualified. Her oppoſite is Cruelty, and bitter extremity in puniſhment; a quality proper to Tyrannical and inhumane perſons. *Draco* was ſo rigid and ſevere, nay (I may ſay) cruel, that he inflicted death upon idle perſons, as well as Murderers; and being askt the reaſon, replied, becauſe he thought that puniſhment due for the commiſſion of a petty offence; and for thoſe of a higher nature, he could not invent any great enough. But *Scipio* much more clement and pitiful, could ſay, That he had rather be inſtrumental to the ſaving of the life of one ſingle Citizen, than to the ſlaughter of 1000 Enemies. And indeed for a Magiſtrate to be perpetually puniſhing, is as reproachful, as to ſee Phyſicians alwaies killing their Patients with their Quackſalving and Emperical tricks. Beſides, Clemency in a Governour creates a kind of baſhfulneſs or fear of offending in any perſon. Yet Clemency muſt be ſo uſed, as that ſeverity, if need be, muſt not be altogether

together neglected: for no Country can be well governed without it, by reaſon of the different diſpoſitions of men; for a harſh word ſtrikes deeper with ſome, than a ſhrewd puniſhment with others. Overmuch clemency was an imperfection that the Stoicks would have all wiſe men to want; alledging, that it was an argument of an ignoble mind, condeſcending and ſubſcribing to the guilt of other mens crimes and offences: and therefore ſuch men may be aſſimilated to fond fooliſh women, that would have Malefactors freed from the laſh and rigour of the Law, becauſe Crocodile-like, after the commiſſion of an hainous offence, they can drop a deceitful tear.

Next, Liberality. Among ſome of thoſe Vertues that were conſtellated in *Scipio Africanus*, this is not the leaſt; that before his return from any place, he obliged ſome perſon or other to him by his liberality.

The Son of *Titus Veſpatianus* was wont to ſay, That that day wherein he had not beſtowed ſome benefit, was utterly loſt. Now in giving, theſe two things are obſervable; to forget the benefits we beſtow, and remember perfectly what we have received: for ingratitude is a black crime; *In-*

gratum dixeris, & omnia dixeris; Name but Ingratitude, and you epitomize all crimes in a word.

Magnificence is the next concomitant of Juſtice; which Vertue conſiſteth in large expences, and great gifts; differing from Liberality in this only, that the one is employed in ſmall and mean, the other in large gifts. Now it is obſervable, that Magnificent men uſually erect Churches, build Cities, Towns, and Villages, and employ themſelves about ſuch things as may either redound to the glory of the Creator, or elſe augment the fame of the Author. And though Parcimony be judged a noble revenue, yet muſt not our Senator be ſo penurious, as altogether to forget liberality, or Magnificence; and ſo degenerate into Covetouſneſs, which is a malady incurable: which as *Saluſt* hath it, doth effeminate both body and mind: Delighting it ſelf in two things, giving nothing, and receiving much: and yet exceſs muſt be avoided; ſo that the middle way is beſt. The advice of *Apollo* to his unſatisfied Son *Phaeton* is very good,

——*Medio tutiſſimus ibis.*

There-

Therefore that no man might exceed a becoming moderation in expences, it was provided by a Law at *Rome*, that no Senator ſhould be indebted above a certain ſum of money preſcribed. Which order was taken, to remove exceſs and ſuperfluity in expences. *P. Ruſinus* was depoſed by the Cenſors for having 10 *l.* weight in Silver. And *Æmilius Lepidus* having ſpent 60 00 *l.* in building a houſe, was deveſted of his Senatorſhip. So ſtrict were the ancient Romans, leſt the Senators exceſs ſhould move the Plebeians to the ſame ſuperfluity. Yet we allow a Senator far more liberty than ſo; for, our Laws do not ſo narrowly confine them.

Next, Friendſhip; which is abſolutely neceſſary: for, ſince man is a civil perſon, and a lover of ſociety, he cannot be deſtitute of other mens converſation; from hence, as from a ſource or foundation, all amity, marriage, or conſanguinity doth flow: And he that endeavours to deprive a Kingdom of united friendſhip, doth in a manner ſnatch the Sun out of the firmament. Friendſhip is of an uniting or congregating quality; for as cold congeals a multitude of waters into one cake of Ice, ſo Friendſhip makes of many one; which is

by *Lælius* defined to be a perfect consent of things divine and humane, in all love, charity, and affection. Yet are we not to entertain any person at the first sight (*prima facie*, as we say) as a friend; we must first, according to our Proverb, eat a bushel of salt with them, that so we may dive into their disposition, and know what metal they are made of. It is the opinion of the Philosophical Tribe, that that amity is most sure, and best grounded, that is nourished by similitude of temper; for where mans delight is one and the same, his affection cannot be divers. Such friends were *Achilles* and *Patroclus*; *Oreſtes* and *Pilades*; *Damon* and *Pythias*, with many more that might be mentioned. The friendship of the two last was so great, that *Dionysius* did earnestly desire to make a third person, that so there might be a Trinity of friends linked together with the ligament of love. Few friends are best; and the reason is, because perfect friendship is inconsistent with multiplicity of persons: and indeed they that delight to associate themselves with many, are not accounted friends, but sociable; for it is one thing to be a lover of conversation, and courteous in the entertainment of all persons; and another thing

to

to be a friend to one whom we make a conſtant companion, one who is the Manuſcript wherein we write all our ſecrets. *Epaminondas* was heard to uſe this expreſſion frequently, That a man ſhould not leave the Court till he made an addition to the number of his old friends by gaining of a new one; but this obſervation tends more to the obtaining of the common good will of men, than perfect friendſhip. Now true friendſhip requires three things.

Firſt, Vertue, from which we muſt never ſwerve; Next, Pleaſure, which proceeds from familiarity and ſweet converſation, ſtealing away the tediouſneſs of melancholy hours. For, *amici fures temporis*. And laſtly, Profit; whereby one real friend may accommodate another with neceſſaries, when ſtimulated by that Tyrant neceſſity. Though it be the cuſtome of the World to fawn upon a perſon that abounds with the affluence of all terrene comforts, and hath high and mountain'd fortunes; but when he is at a low ebb, then they uſually forſake him with a *Benedicite*, or God help you. Nor can you try a real friend better, than in the kick of malignant chance: Then, if he deſerves that name, he will ſtick cloſe to you; if not, ſcoff at

at your meanneſs. Well might the Satyri
ſay,

Nil habet infelix paupertas durius in ſe,
Quam quod ridiculos homines facit.——

As if the Poor man were but fortune
Dwarf, (ſaith one excellently) made low
er than the reſt of men, to be laugh'd at
Yet, if any thing that is unjuſt be reque
ſted by one friend of another, it is his du
ty to diſſwade, rather than encourage him
Pericles being deſired by a friend to aſſiſt
him by bearing falſe witneſs; replied like
a Chriſtian more than a Pagan, *Tuus ſum*
uſque ad aras; I am yours to do you any
courteſie that comes within the limits of
my power, as far as Religion gives me
leave: intimating thereby, that he would
aid his friend ſo far as juſtice, equity, or
divinity would permit, and no farther.
Now by the concatenation of amity, and
co-union of Senators, the Kingdom is as it
were linked together, and ſo ſtrengthned.
Whenas, who can expect concord or mu-
tual love between Subjects, when Magi-
ſtrates are diſagreeing and at variance?
Ariſtides and *Themiſtocles* were enemies, yet
whenſoever they went out on publike
Embaſ-

Embaſſage or Commiſſion, being arrived at the borders of the Athenian Land, there they laid down all contention and former enmity; though after their return home they did often renew their old grudge and diſpleaſure. To forget injuries received, is a noble part, and an argument of a royal ſpirit.

Out of Friendſhip ariſeth Concord, which is nothing but civil amity: and a conſpiracy or plot among all degrees of men to maintain Liberty, Law, Juſtice, Fidelity, Religion and Quietneſs in a Kingdom. Wherefore the Senate of *Rome* did uſually ſit in the Houſe of Concord, to demonſtrate thereby, that in Council nothing ſhould paſs contentiouſly. *Ageſilaus*, King of *Lacedæmonia*, being asked why *Sparta* was not environed with walls; informed the Queſtioniſt, that the Citizens lived united; and ſhewing him the men, ſaid, Behold the walls of *Sparta*. *Scilurus* bleſt with a numerous off-ſpring, fourſcore Sons, before he expired, produced a bundle of arrows, and bid them break them all at once: they replied, It was abſolutely impoſſible: then took he the arrows from them one by one, and ſo brake them all; thereby exhorting his Children to live in

concord,

concord, for ſo they might be invincible and happy; whenas otherwiſe they would be ruinated and diſperſed.

In like manner *Mycypſa*, King of *Numidia*, being on his death-bed, aſſembled all his Children, and left them this golden Sentence as a Legacy: *By concord the ſmalleſt inconſiderable things encreaſe; but the greateſt and moſt conſiderable by diſcord come to confuſion.*

Hoſpitality is a companion to Friendſhip and Concord, which entertains ſtrangers as well as friends, with courteſie and affability; which Vertue redounds very much to a mans credit and reputation. The priviledges belonging thereunto are ſo conſiderable, that the Romans obſerved the performance of the rights thereof even to their very enemies; and would never joyn in battel with them, till ſuch time as the Priſoners to whom they were indebted for food, were manumitted. *Plato* underſtanding that it was impoſſible to reduce his Commonwealth to a happy condition by any other way but amity, concord, or hoſpitality; brought down all Laws and Cuſtoms to friendſhip, making all things common, that ſo mutual ſociety and love might be conſerved; affirming withal, that

hat that brace of words, *Meum* and *tuum*, were like a pair of Engines framed on purpoſe to unhinge the whole World.

Now, ſince it is manifeſt, that man, whilſt he lives, floats in a turbulent Sea of vexations and misfortunes, ſubject to perils as conſiderable for their number as their weight; and that we muſt overcome them by patient ſuffering, or manfully revenge them; we muſt next diſcourſe of Fortitude, which is able to ſupply us with weapons to defend us againſt the aſſaults of the mind and fortune. A Life free from the intermixture of diſcontent, is aimed at by all, but impoſſible to be obtained by any: for Nature hath ſo ordained it, that care, trouble and moleſtation is interwoven with the web of our life; ſo that as our more groſs part, the body, is burthened with labour and toyl; ſo our more ſpiritual part, the mind, is diſquieted with diſcontented imaginations. Nor indeed can we tell how to reliſh Vertue, unleſs we firſt taſte of diſcontent; for, the clouds of ſorrow being overblown (like reſt after labour) the fruit of felicity is much more delightful and pleaſing. Vertue is not a Lady that loves to ſmother her ſelf in down, and lie at her eaſe;

—*Petit*

—— *Petit ardua virtus:*

But ſhe affects induſtry, triumphing in th midſt of moſt imminent danger: whic made *Hercules* forſake the path of pleaſure becauſe it was wide, broad, and eaſie to b traced; and turn into the way of Vertue whereunto the paſſage is hard, and th aſcent difficult. Nor muſt we only deſpiſ all labours and difficulty in aſcending th Pyramid of Vertue; but when we are poſ ſeſſed therewith, we muſt with far mor courage and magnanimity endure all cala mities, ſorrows and afflictions. Now ther is no misfortune, how great ſoever, but ſh can withſtand, and with her own power overcome. This excellency of mind is cal led Fortitude, an affection that ſubmits t Vertue by conſtant and patient ſuffering The nature and ſubſtance of Prudence, Ju ſtice, and Temperance, is ſoft and effemi nate without Fortitude: for it is their pro perty to think and act only; but the quali ty of this Vertue is to think and execut conſtantly, manfully, and valiantly. All commendation due to Fortitude, conſiſteth in Domeſtical, and Publike or Military actions. Domeſtical Fortitude adorns

Man

Man; and her quality is to remove all perturbation of mind, Fear, Sorrow, Anger, Voluptuousneſs, and every other exorbitant affection. Fortitude Military conſiſts in undergoing all perils and dangers, all labour and hardſhip, that ſo a man may be able to look death in the face, if his country or a good cauſe require it. He muſt look to lie ſometimes at the ſigne of the Star, and have his bed feathered with the down of Heaven; lie down a Man, and riſe a Snow-ball; gnaw Match, inſtead of Liquoriſh; He muſt fear nothing; contemn all worldly things, and be reſolved to ſuffer whatſoever can befall him.

Moreover, it is the duty of our Senator to be ſo couragiouſly affected and diſpoſed, that all his gifts of body and mind be as with a certain ſauce ſeaſoned with Fortitude; for, as without ſalt all meats, ſo all Vertues without Fortitude are judged unſavoury. This is that which defendeth both body and mind from the cruel ſhock of misfortune. This is that which renders us quiet and peaceable in Prudence, conſtant in Temperance, and ſtout, valiant and invincible in Juſtice. Yet is there ſomething to be declined in this Vertue; as being fool-hardy, proud, raſh, timerous, ſloath-

ful,or puny-ſpirited; For, he that intends to gain the reputation of valiant, muſt be pricked forward by no other ſpur than Glory, Renown,or Vertue;

——*Immenſem gloria calcar habet.*

He muſt follow the conduct of no other Captain but Reaſon, and not be led up by Chance, Hazard, or Deſperation; alledging that raſh piece of Poetical fury for his excuſe,

Una ſalus victis nullam ſperare ſalutem.

The People of *Numantia* choſe rather to be maſſacred, than yield to the merciful enemy; and the Saguntines were guided by the ſame Precepts: but we muſt never act any thing deſperately. Well might that Roman *Demoſthenes Cicero* ſay, *Injuſtiſſimam pacem bello juſtiſſimo antefero*; I prefer the moſt unjuſt Peace before the moſt juſt War. Now he that deſpairs, flees from Fortitude; and it is an argument of a dunghil-ſpirit, to ſeek death by ſhewing the heel through fear and puſillanimity. But a valiant man deſpiſeth life judiciouſly, fighteth ſtoutly; not as one deſtitute of all

all hope; but, becauſe he is grounded on this perſwaſion, that it becomes him ſo to deport himſelf: which moves him rather to chooſe an honourable death, than blur his life with the ſtain of reproach. This Vertue hath many Concomitants, which with ſome other qualifications ſhall be the ſubject of the enſuing Chapter.

CHAP. VI.

Of Fortitude and her Concomitants, as Magnanimity, Conſtancy, Patience, Confidence, &c.

THis Vertue, as is before mentioned, wants not her retinue of other Vertues. And firſt, Magnanimity, which makes a man aſpire to honour and dignity; and yet by the help of vertue, imitating *Marcellus*, who conſecrated a Temple to Honour out of the ſpoyls of *Syracuſa*, making the acceſs thereunto through the Houſe of Vertue near adjoyning; perſwading himſelf, that there was no poſſible way of catching at honour, to a mans credit and reputation, but by the aid and aſſiſtance of Vertue. This will ſupport him, as bladders

ders do a young swimmer, from being implunged into despair when he floats upon the waters of affliction. The fame of *Codrus* shall live till the conflagration of the World, who for the preservation of his Souldiers and Country, offered up himself a sacrifice. *Curtius* and *Scævola* are immortal; the one, because he cast himself into a mercileſs gulph, to cure *Rome* of the infectious Plague; the other, for burning his own hand, to make his enemies sensible that no torture should deter Romans from prosecuting the defence of their Liberty. Heroick actions embalm the memories of Magnanimous spirits, and preserve them sweet and fresh, maugre the malignity of fickle Fortune, or the succession of Ages. There is no Chronicle nor History in which they shall not have a place, and be honourably mentioned and registred, for Posterity to imitate.

Besides, our Senator must bestow gifts voluntarily and liberally, and receive them with a modest blush, and a kind of unwilling willingness, following the counsel of *Hesiod*, who teacheth, that a good turn received should be returned with Interest; for the Recipient is inferiour to the Donor. *Taxilis*, an Indian King, meeting with

Alexande

Alexander the Great (as *Plutarch* informs us) accoſted him in this manner: *Noble Monarch, I challenge you, not to war, or duel; but to another kind of combat: if you be our Inferiour, receive a benefit; if our Superiour, beſtow one on us.* To whom *Alexander* replied, as the Story farther informs us, *This contention is laudable, and ſuits with Our Dignity; for we ſhould endeavour to exceed one another in well doing:* and cloſed theſe words with an embrace; ſuffering him to enjoy his Kingdom, with additions. Among thoſe of the more noble extract, let him behave himſelf with a well-balaſted deportment, and be the diſcreet Herald of his own praiſe; but among thoſe of the inferiour allay (the vulgar I mean) he muſt abſtain from ſo doing, becauſe of the contrary effects: for in the one, it attracts love; in the other, it cauſeth hatred.

Next, it behoveth our Senator in all ſucceſſes and events to be conſtant and unmoved; and not like *Proteus*, capable of receiving all ſhapes. The conſtancy of *Ariſtides* deſerves no mean commendation, conſidered as he was a Heathen; for *Dionyſius* the Tyrant, demanding his Daughter in marriage, he retorted, That he had rather ſee her wedded to her Grave, than

to a Tyrant: and having ſlain her, he was re-demanded, whether he had changed his opinion; he replied, He was ſorry for the fact, but glad that he had ſo expreſt himſelf. Who can but admire the conſtancy of *Cato*? Who, if we may relie upon the Records of the Ancients, was ever obſerved to keep the ſame countenance, as well when he was repulſed and accuſed, as when he was Prætor: being ſtill immutable in Counſel, War, at the time of his Death, and when that pannick fear ague-ſhook his whole Country; *Cæſar* being victorious, and as a Tyrant uſurping the Government of the Republick. *Xantippe*, who was the *Billingſgate* Wife of *Socrates*, the wiſe Philoſopher (if a modern title may be applied to an ancient ſcold) could utter this to his eternal honour, that ſhe alwaies obſerved he went out and returned with the ſame countenance; for indeed, he was ſo rarely qualified, that no violent or impetuous guſts of adverſity could ſhake him out of his conſtant compoſed temper. Merit will be crowned with her deſerved bayes, *Velit nolit invidiæ*, in ſpight of fate; or elſe her very enemies will lend a helping hand. It becomes him therefore to be a fixed ſtar, no Planet, in his

his own Sphere; like *Regulus*, who rather than the Captives ſhould be reſtored, delivered himſelf into the hands of the *Carthaginians*. It is reported, that when *Nicorontos*, the Tyrant of *Cyprus*, had vanquiſhed *Anaxarchus*; he told him, he might *pro libitu*, as he pleaſed, torment and wrack his body, but he could never prejudice the conſtancy of his mind; that would be ſtill inviolable. Yet he muſt be wary that his conſtancy extend only to juſt cauſes and ends; for to defend any conceit by ſtrength of ſophiſtical diſſertations, againſt the opinion of wiſe men, is an argument of a perverſe and obſtinate, no conſtant diſpoſition: For in vain were all our conſultations, if like the River *Euripus*, they ebb and flow at no certainty. In Council; as he muſt be active, ſo like a ſtone he muſt be mute, and not divulgive, becauſe there paſs many things in conſultations which are to be communicated neither to ſtrangers, nor domeſtical friends; and it is the property of a light and unſettled head, to blab all myſteries ſpoken in Council: as if they could receive nothing, but like ſqueamiſh ſtomachs they muſt immediately caſt it up. The Romans would not admit the Senators *Pedarii*, when they had any weighty matter in hand, nor any of

the Clerks to be preſent; but they themſelves debated it. At firſt, indeed, the Senate-houſe was open to all young men, that were deſcended of the *Patricii*; till after that noble and memorable part acted by *Papyrius*, they were forbidden; leſt through the unſetledneſs of greener heads, the ſecrets of State ſhould be divulged, and the Republick thereby damnified: who being one day queſtioned by his Mother, what matter was ſo long in debate among them, and compelled to give ſome anſwer; replied merrily, Whether it were more advantagious to the Common-wealth, that one man ſhould have two Wives, or one woman have two Husbands: and ſo by diſſembling the truth, came off handſomely, ſatisfying his Mother without prejudice to the Senate or the Commonwealth.

The next Concomitant of Fortitude is Patience, which (according to *Tully*) is a voluntary and continual enduring of adverſe fortune, either for credit or commodity; which are the two Poles about which the World moves; and the uſe hereof is in war greateſt. For they that are Men of war, Souldiers, adventure their lives for their Country, and undergo all perils and dangers whatſoever, with a patient, reſo-

reſolute, and undaunted mind.

If *Coriolanus* had taken it patiently when he had a repulſe for aſpiring to the Conſulſhip, he had manifeſted himſelf diſcreet, and his life had not been attended by ſo many diſaſters. Patience is the *Panacea* of all griefs: for things paſt that are irrecoverable, may be endured, though not amended. He that cannot undergo the bitter chance of misfortune, is but a bearded woman: yet in the exerciſe of patience, we muſt be very circumſpect that the multitude and greatneſs, the quantity and quality of injuries do not diſcompoſe us: for, *Læſa patientia fit furor*; Patience abuſed is turned into fury.

Confidence is another of Fortitudes Aſſociates, which is a certain conceit or aſſurance of mind that we ſhall have future ſucceſs; encouraging, and ſetting us forward to the atchievement of noble and heroick performances. He that is confident, is a perfect ſtranger to cowardly fear. It is ſtoried of *Julius Cæſar*, that ſeeing *Caius Craſtinus* prepared for the Pharſalick war with hope of ſucceſs, asked him what he thought would be the event of the battel: whereunto *Craſtinus* (holding up his hand armed) anſwered, *Cæſar, thou ſhalt be victorious,*

victorious, and have cauſe to commend me dead or alive: which accordingly fell out, and he was ſlain in the skirmiſh; whereupon *Cæſar* aſſembled his Army, and made an Oration in his praiſe. *Ariſtotle* affirms, that men, according to the ſucceſs they have already had, judge of the future in their proceedings. *Plutarch* reports, that *Antonius* was alwaies accompanied with an Egyptian Philoſopher, who, by the calculation of mens looks, would give a ſhrewd gueſs at their diſpoſition, fortune, and deſtiny: He did very much expatiate upon the felicity of *Antonius*, but more upon that of *Octavius*; ſaying, That the Genius that waited on *Octavius* was more powerful than that that attended *Antonius*; which he conceived, becauſe in gaming, Cock, or Quail-fighting, he had the better hap, and was moſt fortunate; beſides other conjectures. It is thought, nay, maintained, that every King, Prince, and Perſon hath a certain Guardian Angel; which Spirits are by *Homer* and *Plato* called *Genii*; and by others *Lares*, *Dæmones*, *Lemures*; and by us, *Angeli:* which, as they affirm, aſſiſt them in battel, and inform them what is to be done. Of which there are two ſorts, the one good, the other evill. We read that

Uladiſlaus

Uladiſlaus Jagelonus King of *Polonia*, in the *Pruſſian* war againſt the Germans, ſpied an Angel armed aſſiſting him; whom he religiouſly called *Divum Staniſlaum*: by reaſon of this ſpectacle, he fought reſolutely, came off victorious, and in ſpight of the Tyrants fury delivered *Pruſſia*. *Plutarch* tells us of an evil Angel that ſtill accompanied *Brutus*; who being in conſultation about the management of war, perceived a man ſtanding before him of a prodigious bulk: he demanding of him, Who he was; received this anſwer, That he was his evil Spirit, whom he ſhould ſee in the *Philippick* war: which proved true; for thereby he did not only prognoſticate his ill ſucceſs, but his death alſo, which accordingly happened. That the Romans relied much upon the predictions of their Spirits, appears, by the Inſcriptions of the Roman Coyns: *Genius Auguſti*, *Genius Senatus*, *Genius Populi Romani*; and thereupon *Ovid* ſings,

Et vigilant noſtra ſemper in urbe Lares.

But to paſs by all theſe Phancies; there is nothing conduceth more to the perfecting of a Conquerour, than Confidence; which our Senator

Senator must be endowed with; for many times all other helps and hopes fail, when this remains for the last Refuge.

Security brings up the rear of the Concomitants of that Noble General Fortitude; which as it is the end of a good, so is it of a valiant life; and hereby we gain tranquillity of mind. He that hath Security, is in the same condition he was before his Birth: my Author is *Cicero*. Now, this Security tends to a peaceable and quiet life in a Republick, which is commonly termed, Common Felicity. Yet our Security must have a better foundation than an airy conceit; Sloath, Carelesness, or Negligence. *Pompeius*, being Commander of numerous Forces, and going to wage war with *Cæsar*, seem'd secure; yet some of his captains, that feared the vigilancy of *Cæsar*, advised him to be diligent: to whom he said, All was secure, and they might *in utramque aurem dormire*, take their rest, and sleep securely. But this Security caused his flight, and by consequence his overthrow. This is an errour incident to most Kingdoms and Republicks; who being russetted with peace, and grown hoary, as it were, with quietness, think themselves secure, when as they are sloathful, cowardly, dull, and negligent.

The

The Roman Empire was extreamly enlarged by their Vertue Military; insomuch that their Eagles flew as far, if not farther, than the current of their Laws did run. This *Metropolis*, from the time of *Romulus*, till the reign of *Octavius Augustus*, was never unarm'd. But *Octavius* finding a general peace all the World over, caused the Temple of *Janus* (which stood open in time of universal peace only,) to be shut; as if thereby the State should be for ever secured from Martial tumults. *Rome* being by this means secured, no succeeding Emperour opened the Temple of *Janus*: so that from that time the People embraced an idle lazy life; whence it followed, that in process of time all Countries, Cities and Kingdoms shook off the Roman Yoke, and purchased their own liberty; whereas she, quite disarm'd, became subject to the *Goths*. We therefore approve of no other Security in our Counsellor, but such, as wanteth not care and provision to repel danger and misfortune when they begin to encroach upon us. And happy is that Kingdom, that in time of peace prepares for war. It will not be amiss, I presume, to inform you what men are to be judged valiant, and the rewards due unto such persons

ſons ſo judged. Some there are, that only led with love to Vertue, grounded upon honeſt Principles, chooſe rather to hazard their lives and bodies in fight, than in time of neceſſity to abandon their Prince, Country, or Friends. We find it recorded, that the Roman, German, and French Captains did alwaies animate their Souldiers to fight, with perſwaſions of the efficacious power of their great Forces, the Valour of their General, the Virtue of their Anceſtors, and the numerous ſpoils taken from the enemy: but the Commanders of *Polonia* uſe no other argument or compellation than this; Let every perſon be mindful of his own Virtue, and peculiar reputation: which only Sentence did ſatisfie the *Polonians*, whoſe fixed reſolution it is to fight till Victory ſeats her ſelf upon their Banners, or die in the Field. Now, he that ſtands thus affected to Vertue and Honeſty, may lawfully be termed Valiant. Which ſort of men are not to paſs without their reward, and badges of honours, as Enſigns of their Loyalty and Allegiance to their King. It is but reaſon and equity, that after the turmoyls of War, they ſhould be cloathed with long Robes, and enjoy the tranquillity of a ſerene, quiet and

and peaceable life. In *Rome*, all ſuch Souldiers were adopted Senators, as brought home any ſpoyl that did belong to the Perſon of the enemy, or that wore a Garland for ſaving a Citizen in fight. Thoſe that had born office in the field for the ſpace of ten years, were admitted to be civill Magiſtrates. Nay, *Regulus* being removed from the dignity of a Senator, was ſo much diſturbed at the affront, that he tore his cloaths, and manifeſted the wounds of his body that he had received in battel; thereby claiming a place in the Senate-houſe; and made a ſuccinct relation of thoſe martial ſervices he had done for the good of his Country; which wrought ſo much upon the Senate, that he was re-admitted to his former dignity.

The *Peripateticks* affirm, that anger is *Cos fortitudinis*, the whetſtone of Fortitude; and men lightly moved thereby, attempt all things with the more vivacity and ſprightlineſs. Yet our Senator muſt be careful that he avoid all fury and outrage in the uſe thereof, leſt he be branded with madneſs, and loſe the title of Valiant; which may be effected by making Anger a Companion, no Commander of Fortitude. There is nothing more miſbecoming any

any man (especially a Counsellor) than Anger: for he that is overswayed with that furious passion, becomes like a brute beast, whose property it is to seek revenge in the heat and height of fury. Wherefore in all enterprises, let Honesty bring up the front, or be Commander; and Anger be Adjutant General. *Plato* the Divine calls Anger, The Sinews of the mind, because thereby she is stretched and screued up, and by Lenity let down. And he that engageth with an enemy, prompted to his enterprize by no other instigation than Anger, deserves the name of Cholerick, and not Valiant; because he undertakes the management of his affairs, moved thereunto by a certain perturbation of mind, not by reason or honour. Wherefore it was well said by the Epicure, *Anger is the issue of Madness*; which is as prejudicial to the health of the body, as the perfection of the mind. Some there are that ascribe more to Fortune, than, if rightly considered, she can lay claime to; and being armed with this conceit, only cry out *Victoria*, before they do *classicum canere*; which, as we say, count their Chickens before they be hatcht. For although the force of Fortune be great, and most considerable in War,

War, (becauſe it is moſt prevalent in thoſe things where reaſon is leaſt powerful) yet muſt we not rely upon her ſo much, as altogether to forſake all advice and conſultation; for, thoſe that are conducted by reaſon, want not the Auſpices of Fortune. *Hannibal* ſuing for peace with *Scipio*, expreſſed himſelf as followeth; I have been inſtructed by good and bad ſucceſs ſo well, that I am ſenſible it is far better to relie on Reaſon, than Fortune. For ſhe often fails when a man is come to the laſt pinch of extremity; and there is nothing more fickle and inconſtant; ſhe's a Female, and will wax and wane twice in a minute; and blinds the judgement of thoſe that bridle not her head-ſtrong fury. Therefore let our Senator be *ſuæ fortunæ faber*, the hammer of his own fortune; and make way for his ſucceſs by his valour and magnanimity, and then ſhe will afford aſſiſtance; for ſhe lacqueys reaſon, as a ſhadow doth the body. It is the opinion of *Xenophon*, that in war evill fortune accompanies the bad, and good fortune the good. *Alexander*, *Scipio* and *Hannibal* were fortunate, but not ſo much through the aide of that fickle Lady, as the aſſiſtance of Wiſdome, and the benefit of Vertue. Yet he behaves

behaves himſelf wiſely, that takes Fortune and Opportunity when it is offered: for, *poſt eſt occaſio calva*; he muſt take her by the foretop, becauſe ſhe's bald behind; and once paſt, is paſt recovery. Now, ſome there are, that if they find ſucceſs in their undertakings, immediately aſcribe all to Fortune as the Authoreſs, as is before mentioned; yet there is no man that may be termed wiſe, but ſcorns to make her the Directreſs of his actions.

Now, to the perfection of our Senators body, (for we have already diſcourſed of the endowments of the mind.) The goods of the body conſiſt partly in the whole body, and partly in ſome particular members thereof: Health, ſtrength and ſoundneſs are required in the whole body; but perfect ſence, and agility, and activeneſs in ſome peculiar members only. And as there is a conſent or harmony between the body and mind; ſo is there a certain correſpondency and ſimilitude between the vertues of them both. Health reſembleth Juſtice; becauſe it reduceth the different conſtitutions of the body to an equal temperature, and they both conſpire to make the body and mind perfect. Strength is compared to Fortitude; becauſe they mutually

mutually assist one another in the undergoing of perils and dangers. Soundness of body is assimilated to Prudence: for as Prudence makes a reconciliation between all opinions and judgments, till they shake hands; so in a sound body, all parts unite their forces together, to make it up perfect. Health doth very much avail; for in all our actions she sets us forward with courage and delight; whereas sickness debilitates the body, and hinders it from the prosecution of a design: She's not to be had by price, saith the Lyrick Poet,

...Non gemmis neque purpura venale nec auro.

Neither Gold nor Silver can purchase it. The multitude of Acres will not cure so much as the head-ach; nor the tumbling over of your Bags, the rich-Gout, Stone, or Collick. It is a free gift of the Creator, as from the prime efficient; but good diet and exercise is the secundary cause: Therefore our Senator must take heed lest he destroy or lose this inestimable Jewel by Intemperancy. Health (saith the Prince of Orators) is maintained by knowing a mans own body, and taking an observation of those things which agree or disagree most

with the natural conſtitution; as alſo by continency in diet, and contempt of pleaſures: what elſe remains, muſt be fetch'd out of the volumes of thoſe two famous pillars of the Temple of *Æſculapius*, *Galen* and *Hippocrates*. *Diogenes* uſed to laugh them to ſcorn, that thought to procure health, being diſtempered, by ſacrificing to the Gods; and yet wallow all their life-time in debauchery and exceſs. Let our Senator therefore be, as the Phyſicians term it, Sanguine or Cholerick; for thoſe humours encline men to be ingenious, docible, healthy, and of large memories. *Ariſtotle* ſaith, Melancholick men are witty, becauſe they being ſubject to anger, are apt to have divine cogitations, and profound thoughts; yet are they to be excluded from Council, becauſe the humour moſt predominant in ſuch perſons is cold and dry; which makes their conſultations ſolitary, ſowre, ſad and dull: for a melancholy perſon is nothing but a lump of quickned care; whereas the merry ſoul is blithe, pleaſant, affable and debonair. *Cicero* chancing to meet with that paſſage in *Ariſtotle*, that melancholick perſons were ingenious; with a ſmile, ſaid, He rejoyced extremely, that Nature had favoured him ſo

ſo far, as to make him dull witted, and not melancholick. *Cæſar* being deſired to take heed of a corpulent, merry, jovial perſon; ſaid, Such perſons were not to be feared, but thoſe rather that were ſad, of a ſwarthy meagre complexion; pointing to *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. Nor do we approve of phlegmatick perſons, as fit for Senators; leſt their croſs humour be a diſturbance to all the reſt, and ſo prove offenſive: for, as the motion of the phlegmatick is Saturnine, ſlow and dull; ſo likewiſe is the diſpoſition of their mind.

Good proportion and comlineſs of bodie is requiſite in our Senator; for according to the Poet,

Gratior eſt pulchro veniens & corpore virtus.

Now I call that comlineſs in him, which ſhews him to be manly, and not effeminate. *Ariſtotle* ſaith, in tall perſons there is no great vertue, and in the ſhort or low of ſtature, little; therefore let him be of a moderate ſize. His body muſt not be groſs, nor yet lean and dry, like a Skeleton or Anatomy. For, the former is unapt for travel, and the latter over-weak to endure hardſhip. Beſides, great notice ſhould

be taken of thoſe that Nature hath mark'd with any deformity, or defect of Member, as the want of an eye: For ſuch perſons are counted crafty and ſubtile, and ſo unfit for Conſultation, (had this been obſerved among us, *Hewſon* had never ſate ſo oft in Council.) Yet, notwithſtanding all theſe niceties of features and comelineſs, if any ſuch perſon, though deformed in body, be perfect in mind; he ſhall be admitted: for the excellency of Vertue overcomes the imperfection of Nature. And though the inward diſpoſition is ſometimes known by the outward complexion; yet is not the conjecture of the virtues of the mind by the lineaments of the body ſo certain, but that it may fail: for many there be, who are rough-hewn without, but neatly poliſht within. Nor can deformity of body blemiſh the mind, though the beauty of the mind beautifie that of the body. Nor doth Vertue confine her ſelf either to beauty or deformity, meanneſs or greatneſs; but ſometimes dwels with ruſſet honeſty, in the low cottage, as well as with plumed gallantry in lofty Palaces. So that not the countenance of a Senator is altogether to be regarded, but his mind and qualifications.

Now

Now, to the Robes and Veſture of our Senator: He muſt be decently apparelled, according to his degree and dignity; for the comely ornament of a garment adds a reverence to his perſon; and by his Robes he is diſtinguiſhed from all other ſorts and kinds of perſons. The Roman Senators wore a Garment ſet full of ſtuds or tufts of Gold; and on their Hoſe did they wear the form of the Moon; which was the cognizance or badge of great honour. This kind of Ornament the Romans were beholding to other Nations for, according to all probability; for *Iſaiah* the Prophet foretold the Noble women of *Judæa*, that God would take away thoſe Moons and Ornaments of the Hoſe. *Plutarch* alledgeth four cauſes of this faſhioned Hoſe among the Romans, which for the Readers delight and recreation I ſhall here rehearſe.

Firſt, Becauſe their ſuperſtition taught them, that the ſouls of their *Heroes* ſhould be led the neareſt way to Heaven by the light of the Moon.

The ſecond was, that the Sign of the Moon did manifeſt their deſcent from the *Arcadians*, who came into *Italy* with *Evander*; and the *Arcadians* were ſo lunatick as to imagine themſelves more ancient than the Moon.

The third cauſe that mov'd them to the wearing of the Moon, was, to the end that in proſperity it might be as a *memento* unto them of the mutability and inconſtancy of Fortune. For, as the Moon is ſometimes partly lightned, and partly darkned; ſo no honour or felicity can be ſo clear and refulgent, but it may ſomtimes be overcaſt with clouds of obloquy and malice.

The fourth cauſe was, that as the Moon drinks in all her light from the Sun; ſo ought all men to think themſelves indebted to heaven for their wiſdom.

Others there are who affirm, that the Roman Senators did not wear the figure of the Moon, but the proportion of the letter *C.* as though the hundred that *Romulus* choſe to be *Patres* (as he call'd them) ſhould thence take their Title. It hath ever been a Cuſtom in all Kingdoms, Republicks, and well-govern'd States heretofore, to diſtinguiſh the Degrees of men by their Veſture; and without doubt this is of much moment to make them conſtant and ſettled in their profeſſions. Among the Romans no man might be adorned with Purple, but Senators, Magiſtrates, Prieſts, and the Younger ſort that were of noble ranke and quality. I omit the mentioning of Rings,

Chains,

Chains, and Bracelets, which were beſtowed on vertuous perſons, advanced to dignity, as encouragements. Though theſe cuſtoms now adaies are obſolete, ſince the alteration of vertues, manners and times; for *Jone* is as neatly trickt up as my Lady, and the Artizan as the Gentleman: It is moſt certain, that by ornaments and additional titles of honour men are put in mind of their duty; and thereby they proſecute all things with the more eagerneſs and diligence. Scepters, Crowns, Chains, Rings, Gowns, Robes and Saddles, are no dignities, but the badges of Dignity, whereby men are ſtirred up and encouraged to perform what is requiſite in the office and place whereunto thoſe Badges belong. *Romulus* (ſaith *Livy*) intending to take the Government of a ſtrange People upon him, did adorn himſelf with his majeſtical Robes, and called twelve Lictors with Maces, to attend upon his perſon, that he might thereby appear with greater pomp and oſtentation; and ſo captivate the hearts of the people: for the Vulgar (like Children) are hugely taken with the outward face and appearance of things; and mind the outward bark more than the inward ſubſtance. Our Senator therefore ſhall ob-

ſerve ſuch a *decorum* in his apparel, as not to encline to lightneſs or fooliſh gallantry, ſo to decline all ſlovinglineſs and ruſticity: As he muſt not be like the Frenchified Gallant, who when he hath once ſeen *Paris*, comes over metamorphos'd both in body and mind; dancing out an entertainment to his friend with a giddy feather in his Crown: no more muſt he be like the Sunbak'd-peaſant, who underſtands nothing of ceremony or civility beſides the management of his plough, and underſtands no other Gammut but *Hay, gee, ho*, which he ſigns to his country Teem when they draw the Plow that furrows the face of the Earth. He muſt ever obſerve ſuch a comly neatneſs, as may ſpeak him man, and not woman; utterly declining and abhorring all nice curioſity.

CHAP. VII.

Of Travel; the Age, Gravity, and Election of our Senator.

THe major part of the wiſdom of a Counſellor conſiſts in the knowledge of the Manners, Laws and Cuſtoms of all Nati-

Nations; which is beſt attained by forrain Travel, as *Homer* ſings of *Ulyſſes*,

Dic mihi Muſa virum captæ poſt tempora Trojæ,
Qui mores hominum multorum vidit, & urbes.

And indeed, there is nothing accompliſhes a man more than forrain Travel. *In motu melas.* There is a certain kind of harmony in motion. And as the Maſter of Eloquence hath it, *Plebeiæ ſane ſunt iſtæ animæ, quæ ſuis affixæ trabibus domi reſident; illa divinior, quæ cœlum imitatur, & gaudet motu.* Thoſe are dunghil ſpirits, that live confin'd to the narrow round of the place of their nativity; and that ſoul is of a more noble allay, that like the Heavens rejoyceth in motion. Sir *Thomas Moor* writes, that a mans beſt friends in Travel is his coyn: yet under favour, notwithſtanding the Authority of ſo learned a Grandee, if a man be accompanied with too many of theſe friends, his journey will be *motus trepidationis*; for according to the nipping Satyriſt,

Pauca licet portes argenti vaſcula puri;
Nocte iter ingreſſus gladium, contumque timebis,
Et motæ ad Lunam trepidabis arundinis umbram

Where-

Whereas, as he immediately affirms,

Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator.

The indigent Traveller ſhall ſing before a *Qui va la?* or High-way-man. Yet would not we have our Counſellor ſo deſtitute of money, as thereby to expoſe himſelf to hardſhip and diſtreſs; but ſo handſomly accommodated, as that he may take a ſurvey of all Countries with honour and credit. Yet in travelling, he muſt be very careful that he only come over again furniſhed and full fraughted with thoſe Laws and Cuſtomes that are honeſt and civil, and leave thoſe that are erroneous and evill behind him. For,

Terras, non animos mutant, qui tranſmare (currunt.

Or at leaſt they ſhould do ſo, and not like ſome green heads that corrupt themſelves, and learn nothing but the ſuperſtitious Idolatrous ceremonies of other Countries, and be ſure to retain what is bad, though it prove to their own prejudice and ruine. He muſt be very exact in informing himſelf what Laws, Juriſdictions, what order of life, military Diſcipline, civil Government,

ment, and domeſtical life is in every Nation practiſed. He ſhall take particular notice of the ſituation of Countries and places, the building of Cities, their Fortification, Strength and Ammunition. Let him alſo underſtand the vertue of every Prince; how his People ſtand affected to him, and upon what terms; the wiſdom of their Senate, the form and method of their Conſultations, as far as without prejudice to himſelf it may be pried into; the nature and ingenuity of the people; what vertues they adhere to, and what vices they are moſt addicted unto; what Learned men, Souldiers and Commanders are in every Country to be found out; that ſo by the report of them to his own Nation, the beſt precepts may be cull'd out, and the reſt rejected. Yet he muſt take heed, leſt by the new-fangled faſhions that he brings over, he make not the people effeminate, and careleſs of their own Laws, Cuſtoms, and ancient vertues: for as *Pliny* ſaith truly, *Eſt natura hominum novitatis avida*: Man's nature prompts him to embrace Novelty, which oftentimes proves pernicious, and tends to the moleſtation of the Kingdom, Republick, or State. Many famous perſons have taken delight in travel, as

as *Neſtor*, *Menelaus*, and *Alexander* the Great, out of love thereunto, *Homer*, and *Democritus*, that merrily paſſed his time away, travelled all over *Ægypt*, *Babylon*, and *Perſia*; thereby hoping to obtain knowledge, that ſo their minds being ſtored with variety of obſervation, they might be the more accompliſhed, and remain content with their own fortune. The words that *Diodorus Siculus* reports to be written upon the Tomb of *Oſiris*, are worthy the quotation and remembrance; which are theſe, or to this effect: *Oſiris Rex ſum, Saturni antiquior filius, qui nullum orbis locum reliqui, quem non attigerim, diſcens ea omnia, quæ generi humano utilia ſunt, & neceſſaria.* But if he want money to ſupport him in travel, let him employ his time in the ſtudy of Geography, and Coſmography: And a ſmack he may have of Natural Philoſophy; but to conſume much time in that Science, is judg'd, by ſome, ſuperfluous in a Senator. The field of knowledge is unmeaſurable and infinite; which was the reaſon that men applied themſelves to one particular Art or Science. *Aliquis in omnibus*, and *nullus in ſingulis*, is no fit Motto for a Counſellor. Wherefore, we commit to the Juriſdiction of our Senator two

ſorts

ſorts of Countries; the one is that which containeth both God and Man (not as if we preſcribed God his place of reſidence, but we ſpeak here according to vulgar capacities) not limited within the bounds of *Europe*, *Aſia* or *Africa*; but is only ſurrounded by the poſting Sun. The other is the place that Nature hath deſtined for his reſidence or being, as *England*, *France*, *Italy*, *Spain*, *Germany*, &c. For it belongs unto him to take a ſurvey of the order and nature of the *Macrocoſm*, the univerſal World, which the Latines call, *Majorem Mundum*; as well as the *Microcoſme*, or little World, where he hath his habitation and abode, which they term, *Minorem mundum*. And when the mind is diſmanacled of thoſe worldly incumbrances which uſually adhere to the body, and by Travel and Science is perfected, as much as lies within the verge of humanity to be; ſhe officiates as ſhe ought, affecting Vertue, and diſaffecting Vice, ſuppreſſing the luſty inſurrections of the fleſh, and like a Monarch curbing and giving Laws to all exorbitant affections. Nay further, when the mind hath pried into the nature of the Heavens, conſidered their harmonious motion, knows the circumference of the Earth, her Longitude,

Longitude, Latitude, and the rarities contained therein; hath plough'd the furrow'd Ocean, and ſeen the wonders of the deep, underſtands their cauſes, beginnings and ends; what is the order and beauty of the glimmering Lights of Heaven, and what influence they have upon ſublunary bodies: what cauſeth the paſſions or *deliquia* of the two Grand Luminaries, the Sun and Moon; the reaſon of their Riſing and Setting, their Diurnal, Nocturnal and horary motion; what is the generation and corruption of all things; what the nature of the Elements, of Animals, and the vertue and beauty of that innumerable number of fragrant herbs that uſually adorn the Earth: when, I ſay, all theſe things are underſtood by one ſingle perſon, and God acknowledged the Supreme Author and Governour of them all; Shall not that Perſon be judged a Prince, rather than a meer Inhabitant or Citizen of the World, that is of ſo profound and polite an underſtanding? Surely yes. *Socrates*, who by the Oracle at *Delphos* was pronounced the wiſeſt of Ethnicks, being demanded what Countryman he was; replied, *A man of the World*; not confining himſelf to any particular place

place or Country; for he thought himſelf to be an univerſal Prince. The ſame *Laertius* reports of that Tub-hugging Cynick *Diogenes*. *Omne ſolum forti patria*, is an old ſaying; and *Omne ſolum ſapienti patria*, carries as much truth with it, as the former antiquity. The whole World is a Wiſe man's Country: 'Tis a City that comes not under the tyrannous ſcourge of any *Nero*, *Domitian*, or *Caligula*; Nor can be environ'd with walls, but is ſurrounded with the univerſal Circle, governed by a comly order, and natural *decorum*, as it were with a Law certain and inviolable, palizadoed with no other fortifications than the Elements. The Citizens or Inhabitants of this place are termed Philoſophers, commanded only by themſelves, fortified with invincible minds, and ſufficiently arm'd againſt the griping talons of penury, or any other misfortune that can ſeize upon man. Such Perſons (nay, Princes as theſe, I may ſay, without entrenching on the Royal Charter of Kings) no fury of War can terrifie, no Faggot frighten, nor Axe diſturb; for they are all valiant, reſolute, and beyond the prejudice of Fortune.

Now, to the Age and Gravity of our Senator. They that have penned any thing of

of the life of man, did uſually confine it to a certain proportion of time. *Plato* aſſigneth eighty one years; *Solon*, eighty; others affirm, that the continuance of mans life extends but to ſeventy, referring all to the number ſeven, becauſe it frequently fals out, that every ſeventh year ſome alteration or change appears in the body. The firſt ſeven years, Childrens teeth fall out; The next ſeven, their hair grows; The third, their body comes to its proper ſtature and height; The fourth, they encreaſe in bulk and thickneſs; The fifth, they arrive at their full ſtrength and virility; The ſixth, they find themſelves addicted to pleaſure and delight; The ſeventh, they come to the maturity and ripeneſs of wit and underſtanding; The eighth, they begin to be termed aged, or ancient; The ninth, weak and feeble, beholding to the ſupport of the ſtaff, and the help of Spectacles; And the tenth, they have one foot in the grave, and are reckoned to be *è peculio Proſerpinæ*, of *Proſerpina*'s fold. Others there are, who maintain that this change happens every ninth year, and ſo aſcribe the alteration thereof to every unequal number till twenty and one. *Pythagoras* the ſilent, called the eightieth year of mans Age fatal, dividing it into

into four times twenty, as followeth: Childhood, continues till twenty; Youth, other twenty; Man's eſtate, the other twenty; and old Age, the fourth, which puts a period to all. Some again compare Mans Age to the four Seaſons of the Year: Childhood, is compared to the Spring; Youth, to Summer; Manhood, to Autumn; and Old-Age, to Winter. *Varro* divides Man's Age into four degrees, and comprehends every of them within the number of fifteen: Childhood (ſaith he) laſts till fifteen, for ſo long Children are weak and tender; Youth, till thirty, becauſe till that Age men encreaſe and grow in height and thickneſs; Ripe Age till forty five, for ſo long ſtrength of body continues, and men are then fit to be employed in publike affairs; Old-Age begins at ſixty, and then the body is impotent, crazy and decay'd; ſo that they are not fit for State-employments, lingring, and conſuming till death come and trip up their heels, as he did all their Anceſtors before them. To this diviſion of mans Age we aſſent; but the diſtinction by number doth principally belong to Phyſicians; for they in exhibiting their medicines, obſerve certain critical daies. But our opinion is, that the forty

fifth year of man's age is moſt ſuitable for Conſultation; becauſe then the ſtrength both of body and mind is arrived to the very height. Beſides, it is the middle age of Man; and at that time, if ever, the mind is perfect in judgement and experience, leſs attracted with brutiſh affections and deſires, and leaſt of all tranſported with rage, fury, or paſſion. When old *Rome* was in her glory, and ſhone with all her ſplendor, Senators were choſen at that Age, being then moſt perfect in body and mind: yet dare we not deny, but that ſome men may be termed Aged at thirty; that is, are both prudent, grave and wiſe. And we find it upon record, that ſome, though very few, were created Senators by the Romans before the thirtieth year of their Age; which we do not diſallow, in regard that men may be reputed ancient for vertue as well as number of years: yet care muſt be taken that the Kingdom be governed chiefly by mature and grave Head-pieces; for as *Plutarch* affirms, that Kingdom is moſt happy that hath ſtore of young mens Lances, and old mens Laws. Pertinent is that of *Euripides* to this purpoſe: *Dictum eſt vetuſtum facta Juvenum, cæterum magis valent concilia Senum.* In *Athens* no perſon was created

created Senator before he was fifty years old. And in *Rome* it was permitted for any man of sixty to enter the Senate-house, though he never came to the Senatorship by choice or election; and after that year, it was left to his pleasure to be present or absent; so that they did neither bind him to, nor bar him from coming to Council. A good, though ancient Custom; for every man, though he hath seen as many Winters as hoary-headed *Nestor*, ought to employ himself *pro posse suo*, according to his utmost ability, for the benefit of his native Country. *Plato* is of opinion, that men must learn till Age snow white hairs upon their heads. *Nulla dies sine linea*; that day is lost, in which a man hath not better'd his knowledge. Yet we prohibit decrepit, doting persons, whose judgements are as crazy as their bodies; and the reason is, because their counsels and consultations are for the most part dubious, and are rather hesitant conjectures than solid counsels, beginning every Sentence with perhaps, perchance, peradventure, and the like; and this they do, as being sensible of their former imbecility and weakness, and so are unwilling to suffer a relapse into their juvenile and youthful errours and

miſtakes. Yet, if they have only ſo many years over their heads as may render them grave, ſolid and wiſe, they are perfect in uttering their conceits: for by uſe and experience (which is the beſt School-Miſtris) they have gain'd, as it were, a third eye, whereby they are enabled to pry into, and diſcern with the more vivacity, the events and cauſes of things. And as every man is diſcovered by his ſpeech, ſo is the prudence and wiſdom of a Senator manifeſted by uttering his opinion. *Socrates*, caſting his eye upon a Youth that he never had ſeen before, ſaies to him, *Speak, that I may know thee:* So may we ſay to our Counſellor, *By the ſolidity of thy ſpeech, and the gravity of thy deportment, manifeſt thy ſelf unto us.* Now his opinion muſt be delivered in ſignificant, but plain naked terms; not daubed over *fuco Rhetoricæ laſcivientis*, with the paints of laſciviating Rhetorique, which becomes the Rhetorick School, better than the Parliament Houſe. But ſo much for his Age and Gravity.

Now to the Election of our Senator. Among the Romans (in the times of Yore Lords of the whole World) Senators were elected divers waies; for, they were choſen either by the King, Conſuls, Dictators,

tors, Tribunes of the people, the Cenſors or Chieftains. And the Cuſtome of free-born natives is to chooſe *Senators* among themſelves, or elſe to commit the authority of Election to a ſingle perſon, who for wiſdome, gravity and dignity is judged the moſt fit, and that is the King; which the Romans did at firſt. *Romulus*, the firſt founder of their City, elected a hundred *Senators*; which cuſtome was followed by their ſucceeding Kings. But, when Kingly Government, through the inſolent government of *Tarquinius* the Raviſher, was removed, this power of election (according to the quality of the time) was ſomewhat changed, yet not given to a multitude; for till the *State* returned to the Baſis and foundation of Government, Monarchy, *Senators* were elected by Conſuls, Cenſors, Dictators, or Chieftains. In all which Elections, till the time of *Auguſtus*, there is no mention made of lots; but the Fame, Family, Order, Office before born, riches and poſſeſſions, were moſt of all conſidered and reſpected. Now, ſince there is no earthly poſſeſſion but comes far ſhort of Vertue for excellency in the choice of *Senators*, that muſt be chiefly look'd upon; becauſe they are reputed Defenders of the Law,

Moderators of Liberty, and Conſervers of a Kingdom. And as the Republick or Kingdom is oftentimes infected by the vice and impiety of Magiſtrates; ſo is it antidoted, corrected and repaired by their vertues. Such are the People of every Country, as are the Manners of their Governours; and the Subjects are apt to Ape the Cuſtoms and Conſtitutions of their Prince. It was well ſaid of one, That the change of Princes Lives, and the alteration of Manners in Magiſtrates, would alſo work even to a mutation of the Cuſtoms, Inſtitutions and Rights, nay, of the Kingdom it ſelf. And to deal really with you, evill Princes are very much to be blamed, not in that they themſelves are guilty of any crime, for it is a Maxim in our Common Law, *That the King can do no wrong*; but that thereby the Subjects are prone to be ſeduced, and led away to the ſame exorbitancies; which may juſtly be ſo termed in them, though not in a King. And indeed, how can it enter within the liſts of poſſibility for a man to perſwade other men to be vertuous, when he himſelf is vicious? The Romans derided *Scylla*, who, though a man infinitely debauched, and wholly given up to licentiouſneſs, did nevertheleſs admoniſh and ſtir

ſtir up others to Sobriety, Temperance and Frugality. And who would not blame *Liſander*? though he ſwam in a contrary ſtream, yet he allowed and gave toleration to the Citizens for thoſe vices which he himſelf abſtained from and abhorred. But *Lycurgus* deſerves commendation, becauſe he never impoſed the obſervation of that upon any man, which he himſelf did not firſt of all diligently follow. Yet in a free-State, (if any ſuch there be) it hath been obſerved, they have been directed by the ſuffrage of chance. This order of Election is obſerved by that Virgin, *Venice*. The like inſtitution *Solon* authorized among the Athenians for the choice of the five hundred Senators: For, out of every Tribe were ſo many elected, as were thought to deſerve that dignity; whoſe names were put into a Pot; and into another as many Beans, the one half white, and the other black: now ſo many as hapned upon the white, were pronounced Senators; and thoſe that chanced to light on the black, were repulſed and diſmiſſed: which made *Thucydides* to call that Senate, *Senatum à Fabâ*. Beſides, it was obſerved among the Romans what Office he had born before his Election, and with what fidelity he had

diſcharged himſelf of his duty: for they made choice of their Senators out of that number of men only, that were by them ſtyled *Patres*, which was, as it were, the Nurſery of Counſellors, that ſo they might be known to be men famous for ſome publike exploit, or renowned for their Wiſdom and Gravity.

Among us, thoſe that ſit in Parliament obtain that Dignity three manner of waies:

Firſt, By reaſon of their Tenure.

Secondly, By vertue of Writ; and

Thirdly, By vertue of Office.

Per Tenure are theſe: Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls and Barons. And theſe are ſummoned to appear before the Parliament in the ſpace of 48. daies.

They that come in *per Breve*, or by Writ, are theſe: Knights of the Shires, Burgeſſes, Citizens, Barons of the Cinque-Ports, and the King's Council. There come alſo *per Breve*, directed to the ſeveral Deans and Arch-Deacons of this Kingdom, two ſeveral Proctors of the Clergy for every ſeveral Deaconry & Arch-deaconry; and theſe Proctors of the Clergy are elected by the Clergy. There come hither *per Service*, or by vertue of Office,

Office, The Chief Crier of *England*; The Chief Uſher; The Chancellor; The Treaſurer; The Chamberlain, and Barons of the Exchequer; The Juſtices of either Bench; The Steward of *England*; The Porter, Grooms, and all tyed by ſervice to be here done. The Stewards Office was to place the Lords; the Porter uſed to ſee there be but one door to enter in and go out at: And every one of the above-mentioned Officers, hath had his ſeveral Charge reſpectively. Thus have you had a deſcription of our *Sage Senator*, of all the qualifications that tend to his accompliſhment; his Duty, Dignity and Office diſplayed and laid open; the rewards due unto, and conferred on him; the ancient Cuſtoms of the Romans and Grecians touching this particular; their election and choice; as alſo their manner of ſitting in Parliament among us; how and by what means they obtain the Senatorſhip, or title of Parliament-men, according to our modern ſtyles, who were ſo termed, becauſe every Member of this High and moſt abſolute Court of Juſtice in *England* (from which there is no appeal to any other for redreſs) ſhould ſincerely and diſcreetly *Parler la ment*, as it is in the old Norman French, that is, freely expreſs

expreſs their minds for the benefit of the Kingdom. Nor are the Laws of this Iſland only, and the Liberty of the Subject conſerved by Parliament, but thoſe of all well policied Kingdoms & Countries elſe in *Europe*. The Germans have their Diets; The Danes and Swedes their *Riicks Dachs*; The Spaniard calls his Parliament *Las Cortes*; And the French have (or at leaſt ſhould have) their Aſſembly of the three States, though it be now in a manner grown obſolete, becauſe the authority thereof was by accident devolv'd upon the King: it will not be altogether impertinent to give you a ſuccinct account of this memorable alteration; which hapned as followeth: When our Nation had taken ſuch large footing in *France*, that they advanced as far as *Orleans*, and had forced their then Soveraign to fly to *Bourges* in *Berry*, for ſanctuary; the Aſſembly of the three States not being able to convene during theſe preſſures in full Parliament, becauſe that by thoſe invaſions the enemy made into the very bowels of the Kingdom, the Country was altogether unpaſſable, ſo that the power that was inherent in the Parliamentary Convention, of enacting Laws, aſſeſſing the Subject with Taxes, ſubſidiary Levies, and other Impoſitions

ſitions, was tranſmitted to the King, during the rage and fury of that war only; which proving of long continuance, that entruſted Authority began to grow habitual, and could never hitherto be taken from him; ſo that his Edicts ſtand in lieu of Acts of Parliament. Out of theſe foregoing premiſes this Concluſion may eaſily be deduced, "That the principal Fountain whence "the King derives his happineſs and ſafe-"ty, is the Parliament: It is the great "Conduit-Pipe which conveys unto "him his Peoples bounty and gratitude; "the trueſt Looking-glaſs wherein he diſ-"cerns their loves. Now the Subjects love "hath been ever accounted the prime Ci-"tadel of a Prince. In his Parliament he "appears as the Sun in the Meridian, in "the Altitude of his Glory, in his higheſt "State-Royal, as the Law informs us. But leſt we ſhould ſpin out too long a thread, and ſo wear the Readers Patience thread-bare, we will conclude this firſt Book, and make the diſcourſe which we allot for the ſcope and Subject of our next, run in another Channel.

Finis Libri Primi.

THE
Second Book,

TREATING
Of KINGS, and their PREROGATIVE.

CHAP. I.

ΕΚ Διὸς ἀρχώμεθ' ——
A Jove Principium ——

In the Trinity we find Unity; Among the Orders of Angels there is an Archangel; The Heavens have their *Primum mobile*; and the Sun is their chief Luminary; The Beasts of the Forest have the Lion to their King; The Fowls of the Air, the Eagle

Eagle: The Fish of the Sea a Soveraign; And shall man only be Independent? *Absit, Absit*, let us therefore sing with *Homer*:

Εἷς βασιλεύς.

"Kings (saith one of our quondam "Penmen, though since an Apostate) are "lively Representations, living Statues or "Pictures, drawn to the life of the great "Deity: these Pictures, for their better "continuance, are done in Oyl; the co-"lours of the Crown never fade, they are "no water-colours. They are Gods Vice-gerents here upon earth; nay, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost say, they are Gods, and would have them live as Gods: God the Father plainly affirms, *Joh.*10.34. *Dixi dii estis: I have said ye are Gods.* God the Son told *Pilate*, *Thou shouldst have no power, except it were* (*data de super*) *given from above.* And I'm sure the Holy Ghost tells us, *Per me Reges regnant; By me Kings reign*, and not by the suffrage of the people; for then it would have been *per nos.* They are the Lord's anointed, therefore not to be touch'd or brought in question by their Subjects: for all the failings in

King can but make him a bad King; but he remains a King ſtill. If indeed, as one ſaith excellently, Kings held their Crowns by Indentures from the People, they were then diſobliged from their obedience to him upon his failing (in thoſe things whereunto he was ſworn at his Coronation) on his part; but if they receive their Crowns immediately from God, and that by him alone Kings raign, as is ſaid before, then they muſt ſtill ſtick cloſe to their Allegiance, or elſe come off with the brand of Traytors. Our modern times have furniſhed us with too many of that infernal rabble, who were ſo helliſhly wicked and impious, as to fight againſt their lawful Soveraign; and having got him in their clutches, ſlew him at his own door. But to the purpoſe.

The Athenians, (as *Demoſthenes* writes in his Oration againſt *Neæra*) when *Theſeus* had contrived the model of their Commonwealth, being accuſtomed to chooſe ſome one out of the number of the vertuous, by a general conſent, manifeſted by holding up their hands, they elected him King. In ancient times, the election of Kings was ever held *ſacrum & divinum quid*, a certain holy and divine action among

among the very Heathens. *Romulus*, after the ſight of twelve Ravens (if we may credit *Livy*) or rather becauſe the lightning had pierced his body from the left to the right ſide (as *Dionyſius* hath it) was by divination choſen King; and that ordinance, called *Jus Auſpiciorum*, was religiouſly obeyed. Their authority hath been judged ever as divine as their election; for *Homer* and *Iſocrates* joyntly affirm, That he that governeth as a King, repreſents the Deity. The Kings of *Perſia* were honour'd as Gods, and the people believed that they were the ſole and abſolute defenders of their Laws, Liberties, Lives, and Country. The ancient Latines called their Kings, *Indigetes*, that is, deified; (as *Æneas* and *Romulus* were) whoſe bodies after they were expired, could never be found. Kings are the Sons, not of the moſt voices, but of the moſt High; and as God is King of the whole Univerſe, ſo are they Lords of the whole Commonwealth. About their skirts they have this Motto written by the finger of God, *Touch not mine Anointed.* Nor did ever any Church-man, Chriſtian Father or Expoſitor, obtrude any other ſence upon this Text, than that it was meant of Kings, till ſuch time as the Puritan and Papiſt, both at a time, and that

that time bearing not above 100. years date, who began then to infect the world with this damnable doctrine, *That it was Lawful to murder Kings*. It is ſtrange that two ſuch contrary factions, that had ever been antipathetical one to the other, ſhould nevertheleſs, like *Herod* and *Pilate*, agree in condemning the Lord's Anointed. *Dieu & mon Droit*, is their Motto; *God, and my Right*: no body elſe have any thing to do with me. They have a *Noli me tangere*, to defend them from the aſſaults of rebellious Subjects.

Yet although Kings are counted God's Lieutenants, or Adjutant-Generals; the Council, Wiſdom, and Knowledge of Kings is not their own, but given them by God, who is the Author of every good and perfect gift, according to that verſe of the Holy Pen-man:

Πᾶσα δόσις ἀγαθὴ καὶ πᾶν δώρημα τέλειον
Ἄνωθέν ἐστι.——

And ſince, I ſay, no King can with his own peculiar ſtock of wiſdom govern his Kingdom rightly (for it is the prerogative of the Almighty only to know all things that appertain to good Government,)

they have ever uſed to call unto their aid and aſſiſtance ſome wiſe grave men, by whoſe advice and counſel the Kingdom might be well regulated. Theſe men being as a mean between the King and the People, do on the one hand, underſtand the Office of the King; and on the other, the Duty of the Subject; knowing what courſe muſt be taken for the preſervation of the Kings Honour and Royal Prerogative, and what belongs to the profit and benefit of his good and Loyal Subjects. Thus a King may govern all things well, not only by his own opinion, which may oftentimes prove deceitful; but by the general advice and counſel of others, whereby his judgement and reaſon is brought to perfection. And as the hand divided into many fingers, is thereby made more ſtrong and apt to lay hold on all things; ſo he that governs by the aid and aſſiſtance of Councellors, will manage all publike affairs, tending to the benefit of the Kingdom and Country whereof he is Soveraign, with the greater diſcretion and wiſdom: for a ſingle perſon is not able to manage all affairs without additionall help. *Alexander*, King of *Macedonia*, conquered many Countries, and ſubjugated a multitude of Enemies. *Pyrrhus* was

was excellent at the choice of places for Fortification. *Hannibal* was often attended with ſucceſs in Victory, but knew not how to make the beſt improvement of it:

Vincere ſcis Hannibal, uti victoria neſcis.

Philopoemon was a brave Admiral at Sea; *Cleon* could manure lands and poſſeſſions; *Cicero* was a famous Orator; *Pompeius* a valiant General; *Cato* a grave Senator; and *Scipio* admirable both in peace and war. So were ſeveral others, that might be inſtanced: for every man (according to the Proverb) is a *Roſcius* in his own Profeſſion. Now when ſo many well-qualified *Heroes* are bound up together in Counſil, what a Conſtellation of Vertues will ſhine and appear there? And what firm Edicts and good Laws will there be enacted by them for the publick benefit and good of the Kingdom? which he is obliged to; for he is called *Rex, à Regendo*; but ſome will have it, *à recte agendo.* And it is clear, that one man cannot be ſo clear ſighted as to perceive all; which proves that verſe of *Homer* to be true, rendred into Latine, thus:

Bini conveniunt melius rem perspicit alter.

Nor doth this any waies diminish his power and authority; for though many convene, yet he is still the head of them all, and hath a negative voice; nor can any Act be pass'd without his Royal assent or approbation. It is taken *pro confesso*, that there is much care and vigilancy required in a Monarch; for, he must not seek so much after his own profit, as the publike good and commodity of his People; he must observe the Laws, preserve the Rights and Liberty of his Subjects, and maintain the authority and reputation of his Senate. For Kings were first of all instituted for the aid and assistance of the vertuous, against those that are vicious: to them absolute power is transmitted, to the end that they may revenge injuries, and be just Judge in all causes and legal proceedings. A good King ought to be as vigilant over those whom Providence hath allotted him Supreme, as a Shepherd is of his Flock. *Homer* calls King *Agamemnon*, the shepherd of the People; and *Plato* in imitation of him the Shepherd and Conserver of Mankind. Besides, he should govern his People, no

as Maſters do their Servants, but as Parents do their Children; with Paternal care, not with rigid ſeverity or cruelty. And as it is cuſtomary with indulgent Parents, ſometimes to rebuke their Children, ſometimes to admoniſh and encourage them, and ſometimes alſo to correct and puniſh them; ſo ſhould a Prince behave himſelf toward his Subjects; manifeſting himſelf ſometimes ſevere, (when moved thereunto) and at other times gentle, affable and courteous, both for the preſervation of his people, and the ſafety of the Kingdom; defending and enlarging the *bonum commune* with no leſs care than a Father provides for the ſuſtentation of his Children. This makes the difference between Kings and Tyrants: the one is ſtudious for the publike good, the other for his own private profit. The end of the Tyrants endeavour is voluptuouſneſs; but the Kings ſtudy is honour: Riches are the mark at which a Tyrant levels, but Vertue is the true *Meta* of the King. Tyrants deſire the aſſiſtance of ſtrangers, but Kings are guarded by their own loyal Subjects. *Alphonſus*, King of *Arragon*, being demanded what Subjects of his he moſt tenderly affected? anſwered, *I love them better that*

love me, than those that fear me. And not without reason did he thus express himself: for fear is usually accompanied with hatred. A King is as secure by the love, good will and loyalty of his Subjects, as by the defence of Arms; and his Senators will stand him in more stead upon any occasion, than a Tyrants Souldiers. *Trajanus*, that great Emperour of the World, did alwaies call the Senate, his Father: for, as the Father usually foretels the Son what may prove beneficial, and what injurious to him: so the Senate counsels the *King*, and instructs him how to conserve his *King*dom, and by what Laws and Ordinances it must be governed. This is the only way to keep the *King* from Tyranny, and the Subject from Rebellion. Now tyranny in the one, with rebellion in the other, will soon verifie that Dystich of the Satyrist:

Ad generum Cereris sine cæde, & vulnere pauci
Descendunt Reges, & sicca morte Tyranni.

A good *King* knows how to irretiate and allure the hearts of the People to him by love and clemency, sooner than by violence and compulsion. And good people know their duty and obedience: and if the *King* through

through the ſins of the people be any way miſguided, they will bite their nails, and not ſcratch their heads; they know it is a crime inexpiable, to quarrel with Majeſty: the only way to live happy in a *Kingdom*, is this, firſt, to give God, and then *Cæſar* his due. But when *Kings* grow tyrannical, then there is little or no allegiance from the Subject, but what they are compelled to; whereas that is far more to be eſteemed, that flows naturally and voluntarily from the people; and this uſually ſtirs them up to ſedition, and ſo conſequently to their utter ruine and deſtruction, and the downfal both of *Kingdom* and *King*: and the reaſon is, becauſe Tyrants uſe certain ſleights and State-tricks to deprive the Subject of liberty: Firſt, by clearing the Country of all good and wiſe men, either by baniſhment, impriſonment, or death; becauſe the vertue of good men reproves them for their vice, and renders them odious; whenas all they aim at is only to enſlave the Nation, to the intent that they may proſecute their own luſt and pleaſure without obſtruction. Such counſel as this, *Periander* poyſoned *Thraſibulus* with; who by his infernal Rhetorick endeavoured to perſwade him to cut off the

higheſt ſpikes of corn; meaning thereby, that he ſhould cauſe the cream of the Athenian Nobility to be executed. The like ſubtilty did *Sextus Tarquinius*, the Son of *Lucius*, follow; who being ſuborned by his Father, pretended to be baniſhed, and fled fraudulently to the *Gabii*; where having ſcrap'd as much acquaintance as he judged convenient, ſent privily to his Father to know his will and pleaſure, and what farther was to be done in the buſineſs for his ſatisfaction: who conducted the Meſſenger into the garden, where walking together, he with a wand in his hand ſtrook off all the heads of the Poppies before him; which being by the *Nuncio* reported to his Son, who had helliſh wit enough to underſtand ſuch damnable myſteries, ſoon put the chief of the Nobility to death, and by force and injuſtice uſurped the Government of the Commonwealth, and deprived the Subjects of their liberty. Another knack they have to prejudice their Subjects, by inhibiting their meetings, conventions and conferences, to prevent their ſtudy of honeſt diſcipline. Nay, farther, they often ſow diſcord among the people, to the end that filled with hate and private diſpleaſure, they may be ſtirred up to civil war and ſedition,

ſedition; who being thereby much impoveriſhed, and the war ceaſing, are compelled to pay for their pardon; and being after this manner fleeced both waies of their money, and reduced to poverty, become baſe minded, and altogether unfit to defend their Lives, Laws, or Liberties. Theſe, and many more that might be numerated, are the plots and devices of Tyrants; all which, they imagine, tend to their own benefit, and to the promoting of their ambitious deſigns; whenas oftentimes it proves quite contrary, to their own ruine and perſonal deſtruction: for if they mount themſelves too often on the Subjects galled back, they will undoubtedly caſt their rider, let him be never ſo expert a Horſeman. But Kings are of a quite contrary temper and diſpoſition: it is the good, and not the ruine of their Subjects they labour for; becauſe they underſtand ſufficiently, that the loſs of Subjects is the ſhaking off of their Crowns; and wanting their protection, they are left unarm'd to the mercy of the inſulting enemy. But we will now leave the lofty Subject of Kings to the fancy of a more ſublime wit, and the work of a more noble quill; and come to our ſecond Chapter, which treats of the diviſion of Commonweals.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the division of Commonweals and Kingdoms.

THe diversity of Republicks proceeds not from Fortune, or Chance-medley, nor the disposition of the Heavens, or the influence of the Stars upon things sublunary; but every Government is framed according to the minds, tempers, and constitutions of men, their wits and education; though some ascribe their variety to the situation of the Country or Climate where men have their allotted residence and beeing. It is confest, that sometimes, through sedition, faction, and civil war, Kingdoms are subverted, and changed into States; for the proof whereof we need not ramble far, since our native rebellions have lately manifested the truth hereof. Such is the fluctuating condition of all worldly things, that mischance waits at the elbow of good fortune, and vice is masked with vertue, that she may not appear in her own native hew and deformity; for Man is prone to forsake vertue and embrace vice, which ever hoodwinks

winks him with an appearance of good. Sometimes alſo it falls out, that well-governed Republicks, through evill Miniſters, are either utterly extinguiſhed, or altered into other forms of Government. Hence it happens, that *Kingdoms* become Tyrannies, *Optimacies* come under the juriſdiction of a few; Popular States are perverted into licentious liberty, and from that reduced into Tyranny; and this is the revolution of their Government, and original of their Cataſtrophe. *Plato* writes, that the mutation of Commonweals is fatal, through the diſpoſition of the Heavens, and the operation or influence of Cœleſtial bodies upon Terreſtrial. But as we have already inſtanced, their variation happens from the variety of the minds of the Inhabitants. For ſome Countries abound with rich, others are cram'd with poor men. In ſome, there is ſtore of Nobles, Souldiers and Husbandmen; in others, plenty of Merchants, Handicraftſmen and Artificers. Now, whereſoever the number of Merchants, Artificers and Husbandmen ſurmount the reſt, that *State* uſually becommeth Popular: But where there is the greateſt quantity of rich men, there is eſtabliſhed the government of a few.

Where

Where the major part of Citizens be good, wiſe and vertuous, that *State* is apt to be governed as an Optimacy. There are three things (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) that contend for priority in Government: Liberty, Riches and Vertue. For, Nobility (which ſupplies the fourth place) is the aſſociate of vertue and riches, becauſe the equal mixture of rich and poor men, make a Popular *State*. A faction of rich men, is called, the Government of a few; and the conſent of all three, *viz.* Freemen, rich men, and good men, is counted an Optimacie: ſuch was the Carthaginian Republick; for Rich men, Good men, and Noblemen were therein equally eſteemed. Now, it is the diſpoſition and deſire of ſome men to live, in *Kingdoms* rather than in any other *State*; who are ſuch men as are naturally ambitious of honour, vertuous, and fitted for action. The *Cappadocians* having enjoyed *Kings* for many years (whoſe Race was at length extinguiſhed) were profered by the Romans to have their *State* converted into popular Liberty; but they refuſed it: whereupon they appointed *Ariobarſanes*, their friend, *King* of *Cappadocia*. The Athenians followed the quite contrary courſe; for they affecting a Popular *State*, would not

not allow of the Government by one, nor many. Yea, ſome there are that approve of Tyrannical Government moſt of all; as the *Siculi* of old, who were ever accuſtomed to be ruled by Tyrants, and ſo were almoſt all the people of *Aſia*; who being naturally ſervile, are even to this Age ſubject to tyrannical Government. Now, if any man demand, What a Commonwealth is? This doubt cannot ariſe from the name, it being a certain order among the Inhabitants aſſembled together in one City or Country, and there reſiding; but from the variety and difference of Republicks: for as mens manners, delights and eſtates be various, ſo alſo is the Government of Commonweals manifold. And though the *Terminus ad quem*, or end, is one and the ſame, *viz. bonum*, good; yet the *Terminus à quo*, or means whereby they aſpire to that good, are various, and ſo conſequently the Laws and Cuſtoms are of ſundry ſorts that are by them uſed. For, he that ſhall compare the Laws of *Hippodamus* enacted for the *Miletians*, with thoſe of *Minos* made for the *Candians*; or the Ordinances of *Lycurgus*, with the Decrees of *Solon*, the one writing of the Lacedæmonian, the other of the Athenian Government

vernment, may with facility underſtand their Laws to be divers, their Magiſtrates unlike, and the Form of their States very diſcrepant. The ſeven Wiſe wen (*Thales* excepted, who did not care for fiſhing in the troubled waters of State-affairs) introduced ſeveral exerciſes, Laws and Governments according to the peoples capacity, and their own pecular fancies, and by ſundry orders and uſes did execute them. Which variety of Government hath miniſtred matter of great controverſie and contrariety of opinion; Inſomuch, that the Learned, as well in our, as forrain Schools and Univerſities, have aſſumed the diſputation of the ſeveral ſorts of Commonweals, and confined them to a certain number; beſides, they have manifeſted which of them deſerve the greateſt commendation, and ought to be embraced. *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* ſeem to excell all perſons that ever wrote on this Subject: For they with ſolid judgement, and great reſpect to the nature of men, and the temperature of the Region or Climate, have diſcreetly appointed Laws and Governments ſuitable to the diſpoſition and temper of the Inhabitants: therefore according to the opinion of theſe two famous Philoſophers, we will diſcourſe of

of three ſorts of Republicks: The firſt is called, *Monarchia*; The ſecond, *Ariſtocratia*; And the third, *Democratia*; which the Latines term, *Regnum, Optimatum Principatus, & Popularis Reſpublica.* The Supreme Governour of all things, by his Providence divine, hath ſo ordered, that the faculties or powers of man's mind ſhould reſide in three parts of his body, repreſenting thereby three *Idæa's* or Forms of Republicks; conſtituting Reaſon as ſole Monarch, or Lord Paramount of them all, to remain in the head, being the higheſt part. The ſecond part, as moſt vigilant and apt to obey, he hath placed near unto it, in the breaſt, creating it a companion and helper to the head; which *Plato* calls, *Vim iraſcendi*, or *affectuum ſedem.* The third, reſembling a rude multitude, witleſs, froward, and full of ſenſual deſires, harbours beneath the heart, far remote from the other. In theſe parts of the ſoul, as in a Mirrour or Looking-glaſs, we may ſpy out three ſorts of Commonweals. The higheſt ſupplies the place of King, as deſtined and appointed to exerciſe authority over all. The ſecond, though in place inferiour, yet in quality is of no leſs regard, being well obeyed: for, where Reaſon ſwaies without the aid and

aſſiſtance

aſſiſtance of the affections, all actions are weak and impotent. Juſt ſo a Senate wanting the aſſiſtance of Reaſon, which deports her ſelf partly as Captain, partly as a Souldier in all actions and conſultations, becomes timorous and effeminate. *Ariſtotle* hath therefore made a diviſion of the power of Reaſon, making one part abſolute and ſtanding upon its own Guard, and the other, as it were, depending and ſubſervient, like a Son that obeyeth the Father. Which *Titus Livius* hath ſignificantly expreſſed, in ſetting forth the errour of *Minutius* in his unadviſed fight againſt *Hannibal*, which *Fabius* reprehends in theſe or the like words: *Souldiers* (ſaith he) *I have often heard, that he that of himſelf can rightly judge, deſerves the greateſt commendation: next unto him are they, that know how to ſubſcribe to the good advice of others: But he that can neither counſel, nor follow the counſel of others, is but an inch on this ſide a Natural, and of a very ſhallow capacity.* The third part of man's mind reſembles a Popular Government, wherein the multitude hath authority to hear all cauſes, and determine or decide all controverſies, though many conteſts ariſe from hence to the prejudice both of the Country and Inhabitants.

Ariſtotle

Ariſtotle writes alſo, that the Image or repreſentation of Republicks may be found out in private families; for the authority of the Father over his Children may be compared to Principality; becauſe Children are the Parents charge; he alone muſt provide for them all, and their faults are chaſtiſed, rather than ſeverely puniſhed by him; ſo ought a good King to demean himſelf toward his good Subjects. Therefore *Jupiter*, the God of Gods and Men, is by *Homer* ſtyled Father. The Husbands authority over the Wife may be compared to *Optimacie*; for the Husband ought to rule his Wife according to Juſtice, and command nothing but what may endure the teſt of the Laws of God and man. The State Popular is aſſimilated to brotherly Society; for they ought to live in equality, differing only in the degrees of Age. And as the Father that uſeth rigour and cruelty towards his Children, is judged a Tyrant, and no Father; ſo that King, that by the oppreſſion of the Subject endeavours to encreaſe his private intereſt, contemning all Laws, and living diſhonourably, puts off his Kingſhip, and is called Tyrant. A Huſband and Wife living in diſcord, either through negligence, or obſtinacy, rejecting

the care of their Children, and domeſtick affairs, do thereby abuſe their authority, and become unworthy the name of natural Parents; ſo *Optimacie* abuſed, deſerves not that title. In like manner Brethren diſagreeing, neglecting their mutual profit, addicting themſelves to ſloath and laſciviouſneſs, are not to be accounted Brethren; no more is a Popular State ſo to be eſteemed, if of ſuch a temper. Thus it is apparent, that through the default and inconſiderateneſs of Superiors, true Commonweals are converted into falſe and contrary Governments. Policy, which by the Græcians is called, Πολιτεία, and by *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, *Reſpublica popularis*, may be referred to all ſorts of Republicks; becauſe that word is univerſal, and includes all civil Government. *Plato* adds another kind of Government, that is, a King ſubject to his Laws; making Monarchy of two ſorts, and conſequently two Kings; the one bound and confined, the other free, and not reſtrained to any Law: this is his opinion of Monarchy, though not ours.

But now let us diſcourſe of the beſt ſort of Republicks, though it be a very hard task: to the accompliſhment of which intended work, it is requiſite that a man under-

understand the best kind and order of life; for otherwise a perfect Commonwealth cannot be conceived: but what sort of life merits the reputation of the best, as yet *latet tamen obscuro* among the major part of Philosophers. The Epicures, Stoicks and Peripateticks are of different opinions concerning this subject, and have divided the world by the variety of their Sects and whimsies. But our intent is to concur with the Peripateticks, because their Schools have been the greatest Nurseries of good Governours. The Stoicks, that did ever wed themselves to an austere life, ground their felicity upon Vertue only; which we disapprove not, so that they consent, that external goods, which both Nature and Fortune have made for the use of man, to the end he may thereby be the better accommodated, be joyned thereunto as necessary additaments; otherwise he cannot be perfect: and seeing that man's felicity is numbred among things that are perfect, and that thing is only perfect that wants nothing; surely, whosoever desires to be happy, must necessarily be fully furnished, so that his felicity may be absolute, and no way deficient. Riches are very necessary; the liberal person stands in need of money to perform the

actions of Liberality, and the juſt man muſt therewith reward and make ſatisfaction. The Warriour wants it; for according to the Poet,

Ἀργυρέαις λόγχαισι μάχε, καὶ πάντα κρατήσεις.

Argentis pugna telis, ac omnia vinces.

Now the Epicure, he placeth his *ſummum bonum* in ſenſual delights and pleaſures; which is more becoming a beaſt, than a man. Whereas *Ariſtotle* makes a joynt agreement of Vertue, and other additional ornaments, or external helps, moſt neceſſary for a well-regulated perſon.

Philoſophers affirm, that there are three ſorts of life: The firſt, conſiſteth in Action; The ſecond, in Contemplation; And the third, in Pleaſure. That which reſteth in Action, if not accompanied with wiſdom and vertue, proveth unprofitable, and is ſubject to many vices and imperfections. That which is employed in Contemplation, not being accompanied with Action, is vain and ineffectual. For, as he that boldly looks upon the Sun when in the Meridian of his luſtre, is made blind with his vehement heat and tralucent ſplendor: ſo the mind of man, continually occupied with

with the ſpeculation of ſublime myſteries, becomes ſtupid, heavy, and languiſhing. He therefore that deſires the name of vertuous, muſt lead a civil as well as a philoſophical, an active as well as a contemplative life; the mixture of which two, makes man happy and fortunate. But he that delights only in ſenſuality, abſolutely forgetting that he was ever qualified with the gift of reaſon, may be ſaid to repreſent man, as to his outward complexion or bluſh; but he wants the true and proper nature of man.

Hence ariſeth the diverſity of mankind; for ſome are born free, noble, wiſe, and fit for government; others, ſervile, booriſh, witleſs, deſtined to ſervitude and bondage. *Plato* hath it, that God in Man's Creation had ſo ordered, that in the generation of thoſe that are apt to govern, he hath mixed gold; of them that are appointed as aſſiſtant to Governours, ſilver; And the nature of Plough-men and Artizans is compounded with Braſs and Iron: which ſimilitude *Ariſtotle* applies to the manners and capacities of men. For, although every man doth naturally deſire that his children ſhould reſemble him; yet it often happens, that ſilver is the iſſue of gold, and ſome

metal of a more inferiour allay, the iſſue of ſilver. It is therefore very requiſite, that Princes pry into the nature of their Children, that they may underſtand their diſpoſition; and they that are like Iron may be converted into gold; or that proving impoſſible, the government may be allotted to others: for it hath been oraculouſly propheſied, that thoſe Countries that are governed by Braſs and Iron, ſhould periſh and come to confuſion.

But now as to *Optimacie*, it conſiſts in a certain number of vertuous Citizens (or at leaſt ſhould) becauſe they govern the Republick according to the Rules and Edicts of the Law; whereas in popular States all things are contrarily managed: for Liberty being the end thereof, the State is ruled according to will and popular fury, without the conſideration of vertue or reaſon. In ſuch Cities, men are called good, becauſe they are profitable or beneficial to the Commonwealth, not for their being endowed with honeſty, which conſiſts in the action of vertue; ſo that vertue there is meaſured by publike profit, not honeſty; for Popular Juſtice, called *Jus populare*, is where honour is conferred upon perſons, not according to the vertue of him that

that receiveth, but the number of thoſe that give it; who think thoſe things to be moſt equitable, that are ſo according to the Vogue of the multitude, not as Juſtice inſtructs us; and that to be honourable, which hath the repute of popular fame, or appro ation of the Multitude. And though it muſt neceſſarily be granted, that there is corruption in all Republicks; yet is it frequently known in Popular States, and that more than in any other kind of Government: for if any man well-principled chance to have his reſidence or abode in any ſuch State, and he out of natural reaſon only diſguſt the Plebeian inſolency, and by admonition, reprehention and correction ſtrives to reduce the Citizens or Inhabitants to a more vertuous and religious courſe of life, he is inſtantly branded with the name of an enemy to the State, and arreſted by the Law of *Oſtraciſme*; and many times it falls out, that he comes to execution. Many famous Citizens of the popular States of *Greece* were hereby affected, as *Ariſtides*, *Thucydides*, *Socrates*, *Themiſtocles* and *Damon*; and at *Rome*, *Camillus* and *Scipio* had the ſame meaſure dealt them. *Ariſtides* deſerves a monument that may endure to perpetuity, for his ſingular vertue

and wiſdom; who for his integrity of life and converſation, was ſirnamed *Juſtus*. And at that time when the Law of *Oſtraciſme* was in force among the Athenians, a rude, booriſh, beef-brain'd fellow, with a ſcrole of paper in his hand, chanced to meet him, who with much importunacy would have forced him to write his name therein. *Ariſtides* being aſtoniſhed at his earneſt and ſtrange requeſt; asked him, *Whether any man could ever ſay he had injured any perſon? No*, (replied the fellow) *all the reaſon that prompts me to my demand, is only this, I ſtomach your Sirname*, Juſtus. It is reported by *Cicero*, that the *Epheſi*, at the baniſhment of their Prince, *Hermodorus*, pronounced this Sentence: *Let us not excel one another; and if any do contrary to what is herein ſpecified or mentioned, he ſhall no longer reſide among us, but muſt procure ſome other dwelling place.* Strange Cuſtoms of Popular States! *Plato* (as we have already inſtanced) ſaith, *That no State can be long liv'd that is governed by Iron or Braſs*; that is, by phanatick or infatuated perſons; who being altogether unfit for Government, ſeem to be born to diſturb, rather than obey. For they, after ſome petty or imaginary ſucceſs at war, growing inſolent and tympanous, have alwaies

alwaies ſome flattering Tutors, and colloguing popular Captains to extol their Vertues, ready at hand; who immediately upon this allured, or rather caught with the golden bait of glory, reject the authority of their wiſe governours, rebelling againſt their Superiours, and ſo uſurping their lawful power, take it into their hands, and manage it according to their own corrupt wills and depraved judgements; which is the cauſe that ſuch States ſoon expire, and that oftentimes in their very infancy: for through the diverſity of minds and opinions among them, they become void of counſel; and after a continued ſeries (if it laſt any conſiderable time) of inſolency, contention and faction, they become ſubmiſſive either to a few, or elſe to ſome ſingle perſon. Thus did the Athenians, who having obtained the victory in a memorable Sea-fight againſt the *Medes*, bladder'd up with pride from their ſucceſs herein, it cauſed ſedition and tumultuation in that State, notwithſtanding the contrary endeavours of the more ſober to prevent it. Nay, the original of States Popular ſometimes ariſeth from rebellion attempted againſt the Royal Party, as it frequently happened at *Rome*: and at other times it falls

falls out, when the people through tyranny are exasperated, and made desperate by the rigour of their Princes or Governours; for then by force of arms against their King, they begin to mould a new-fashioned Government among themselves; which the *Swisses*, not many years since, have done. As to Oligarchy or Tyranny, we shall not extend our discourse, but pass them by, because we judge such kind of Government to be altogether unjust, insupportable, and quite contrary to a vertuous and civill life.

Now, as to the discovery of the most notable and imitable Commonweals and Kingdoms in the habitable World, that shall be the subject of our ensuing Chapter.

CHAP. III.

Wherein is contained the various Forms of the most memorable and famous Commonweals and Kingdoms in the World.

THe excellency and pre-eminency of every Nation or Republick may easily be understood by the Government and Laws

Laws therein practiſed and exerciſed: for thoſe are judged the beſt, that direct the courſe of their life according to juſtice and equity, and not the peculiar whimſies of their own natural fancy; and conſtantly perſevere therein, without ſo much as the appearance of change or variation: it is an apparent and clear argument of female frailty, far derogating from the dignity of Man, to be ſo fickle and inconſtant, as to ſeek after variety; but to be fix'd and grounded, is an argument of a noble reſolution.

And firſt, as for the Commonwealth of *Plato*, we ſhall paſs that by, becauſe it is uſually ſaid, that ſuch a Government as his, neither is, hath been, nor ſhall be hereafter.

The Athenian Republick was firſt made as followeth: That People being diſperſed, and haunting the woods and fields like brute Animals, were firſt by *Cecrops*, and after by *Theſeus* confined to a City, which was then called *Cecropia*, now *Athens*, and at length reduced to a Kingdom, deſcendable to their Poſterity. But what authority the Senate had under thoſe Kings (which order did repreſent the *Optimacie*) cannot be manifeſted or apparently known, by reaſon

reaſon of the length of time, and multitude of years ſince elapſed, as alſo the paucity of thoſe Writers that have any waies diſcourſed thereon. Yet we muſt believe, that Kings had in thoſe daies their Sages or Wiſemen about them, and made uſe of their counſel in the management of their political affairs. The Kings of that Age (as *Thucydides* writes) did rule by conſent of People, and with their ſuffrages did many times determine thoſe things whereof they themſelves were doubtful. Yet that Government was of ſhort continuance; for, in tract of time (which altereth all things) it was committed to the multitude, whoſe force and power did utterly ſubvert the Commonwealth.

The Lacedæmonian State ſeemed to contain all the three ſorts of Government, *viz.* King, Nobles, and People; the Nobles were their Senators, and the People were the *Ephori*; for they were alwaies elected out of the number of popular men. Now the Lacedæmonians are very much extolled, in that for the ſpace of ſeven hundred years compleat, they have continued without any alteration of their Laws, Cuſtoms, or Government. But the Venetians in that reſpect may challenge a greater portion

tion of glory, for they have till this very preſent Age of ours conſtantly lived under one Form of Government and Governours the ſpace of one thouſand years, and better.

Now the Venetians in framing their Republick, do include within the name of People, Gentlemen and Citizens; being very careful to oppoſe any other, if he preſume or dare uſurp that title, becauſe they only are capable of Magiſtracy. The Senate is choſen out of that number that repreſents an *Optimacie*, and is the foundation, as it were, of that State. The Duke is elected out of that number that reſemble Kings.

Polybius doth very much extol the Roman Monarchy, becauſe it was made up of the King, Nobility and People; ſuppoſing that by this means the King for fear of the People durſt not become inſolent; and the People, out of reſpect to the Senate, durſt not diſobey the King. Which Form of Republick is accounted moſt juſt. For as perfect harmony is made up of Treble, Mean, and Baſe; ſo the beſt and ſureſt agreement among men, and the moſt ſtable Government, is eſtabliſhed by the mixture of the Beſt, the Mean, and the Baſe people.

Romulus (ſaith *Livy*) being (as we have already

already mentioned) by consent both of God and men elected King, though the State was then but an *Embryo*, refused to have the reins of Government lie altogether upon his own shoulders, and did therefore call unto his assistance one hundred Senators, who out of respect to their Age and Gravity, were called Fathers. And lest the People should suppose that they were hereby deluded, misled, and defrauded of all honour, and thereby envy and malignity might ensue, to the prejudice of the King or Senate; He made them Judges, and gave them full power and authority to sit and determine War, and conclude peace, with many other priviledges thereunto annexed. And if this model of Government had still continued in *Rome*, there had not been so great an effusion of bloud in aspiring after Liberty and enlarging the Territories of the Roman Empire; Nor had the happiness of that Country been shaken with so many seditions, which did at length work her ruine and desolation: for she was observed to be very little acquainted with peace all the time she stood upon her own legs, ever since she was able to go alone.

But now let us take the Governments of our

our Age into conſideration; and firſt, of the French Monarchy; which owns a King, who rules *ad placitum*, at his own diſcretion: and although his authority come not under the laſh of the Law, yet like an honourable and juſt Prince, he acts nothing contrary to Law, or Honour. In his Kingdom, the Noblemen, which they call Peers, repreſent an *Optimacie*: the People are divided into three ſorts; Gentlemen, Clergymen, and the popular Multitude; and a choice number of theſe three aſſembled together by the Kings Edict or Command, determine matters of greateſt importance in the Kingdom. This Council was anciently called *Panceltium*, as the *Ætolians* named theirs *Panætolium*, and the univerſal Council of the Ionians was termed *Panionium*; though ſince, as we have already hinted, by reaſon of the Engliſh wars there, the King got all authority into his own hands, ſo that his word carries as much force and validity with it, as the former acts of Parliament, which were their three Eſtates conven'd and met together.

As for the Spaniſh Monarchy, the King there hath Soveraign authority and power; the Council-Royal repreſents an *Optimacie*; and the three prime Orders of Knighthood may

may be compared to the popular State. For the Order of St *Jago*, *Collatrava*, and *Alcantara*, aſſembled with the King, decide the moſt important State-controverſies and affairs.

The Monarchy of *Polonia* conſiſts likewiſe of theſe three ſorts, *i. e.* The King, Nobility and People; but it is to be noted, that this word People here, denotes only Knights and Gentlemen. The Union and Fellowſhip of theſe orders is ſo admirable, that the King without the advice of his Council and their authority, can do nothing; nor can the Council determine without the King's approbation, and the Peoples conſent. In this Kingdom, the Laws are of ſo great force, that every man religiouſly ſwears to keep and obſerve them; and if any perſon act contrary to that Oath, he is accounted unjuſt and impious. Now that Oath by which they ſwear to be ſtrict in the obſervance of their Laws and Liberty, is in their vernacular language called, *Captue*; which is as much as *Tegmen capitis* in Latine: for, as the head is kept in health, and preſerved from the injury of the nipping weather, by being covered; ſo by vertue of that Oath, their Laws, Lives, and Liberties are conſerved; and to maintain

tain it, no man is ſo fearful, as not to venture his life againſt Tyrants, and all ſuch as endeavour to cut the wings of publick Liberty and Happineſs. This people enjoy great freedom; being principled with this perſwaſion, that to live according to the direction of the Law, is the moſt abſolute Liberty in the World. In this Kingdom, the Prince follows not the *dictamen* of his own will and fancy, but ſticks cloſe to the Rule of the Law. In waging war, or concluding peace, he makes uſe of his Council; never tranſgreſſing Law: which works this effect, that the Kings perſon is not only honoured among the people, but had in high reverence and eſtimation; ſo that he may be ſaid to be adored, rather than obeyed. And who indeed is there, that would not entirely love, honour, reſpect, and reverence that Prince, that in governing ſteers himſelf by the *Cynoſure* of the Law; contented to be led by the Line of reaſon, directing himſelf in all his undertakings, according to the prudent and grave advice of his Senators? Authority thus uſed, creates a general love, liking and conſent among the Subjects. To conclude, the King of *Polonia* ſeems ſuch a Prince, as *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Xenophon*, and other Legiſlators have deſired to bear ſway

in all well-regulated Commonweals and Kingdoms, and ſuch as both God and Nature approve. The Senate here bears the Image of *Optimacy*, and hath much power and authority; for they being choſen out of the wiſer ſort of Nobles, they only, I ſay, conſult with the King about State-affairs. Their authority is not unlike the *Homotimi* of *Perſia*, or the *Ephori* of *Lacedæmonia*. The Gentlemen of *Polonia* reſemble the Popular State; for on them is impoſed a great part of the Government, and may be ſaid to be as a Seminary from whence iſſue both Counſellors and Kings.

The Empire of *Germany* conſiſts of the Emperour, Princes, and People; which being governed by divers Potentates, and their policy being ſcattered into ſundry Governments, comes not eaſily within the reach of a conciſe deſcription.

The quondam Kingdom of *Britain*, now called *England*, obeyeth one King, who electeth Senators, unto whom the reſidue of Nobles, and ſome of the Popular Order being joyned, make one Common Council, which is called in our *Idiom*, a Parliament. But native modeſty forbids us to proceed any farther upon this ſubject; whoſe *Encomia's* we judge to be a Theme far

far more ſuitable to a forrain Pen.

One difficulty there remains ſtill, the reſolution whereof we have reſerved for the cloſe of this Chapter; and that is this; What a Citizen is, which we have ſo much all along diſcourſed of? To which we anſwer:

That this word Citizen hath had ſeveral acceptations among Writers. Some have called the whole number of Inhabitants by the name of Citizens. Others, only thoſe that are deſcended of Noble and free-born Citizens. Some call them Citizens whoſe fathers were free-born within the City; Others would have them to fetch their Pedigree more remote, from their ancient Grandfathers. And ſome are of opinion, that forrainers received into the Society of Citizens, and naturalized, or Denizen'd, deſerve the name of Citizens. *Ariſtotle* terms them Citizens, that are capable of publick Offices in State, and are deſcended of free and honeſt Parentage. In popular States, all they are uſually called Citizens that dwell in the City, as well Poor, as Rich; Bad, as Good; none being Bondmen; for every one is capable of Government, becauſe there is an univerſal parity among them. Of this nature was the

Athenian Commonwealth (before ſpoken of) ſo long as it was ſubject to Popular Government; and the Cantons of Switzerland ſteer the ſame courſe even to this very Day. And divers Cities in *Germany* there are, called free; where the Inhabitants live popularly, ſecluded from Gentlemen, and noble Citizens. In an Oligarchy, becauſe men are moſt reſpected for their revenues and ſubſtance, they that are moſt rich are reputed Citizens, though they are diſhonourable, becauſe careleſs of all vertue; and make it their whole ſtudy to be rich *Quo jure, quaque injuria*, by hook or by crook (as we ſay) right or wrong, no matter which way they obtain it; to the end that they may come to dignity and preferment, not as wiſe and vertuous, but as rich and wealthy perſons.

Among the Romans, there were ſeveral ſorts of Citizens; Some were called *Municipes*, ſome *Coloni*, and others *Latini*; every one of them retaining thoſe conditions that were allotted them by the people of *Rome*. Some whereof were free, ſome Confederate, and ſome Stipendiary. Some were created Citizens *pleno jure*, which was by voice; and they were thought worthy of all honours; Others, *Jure honorario* which

which were of the number of thoſe that were admitted into the the City without the ſuffrage of the people; and they were *honoris gratia* called Citizens, as the *Campani*, and *Equites*. He likewiſe was counted a Citizen of *Rome*, whoſe name was written in the Book of the Cenſors, and was an Houſe-keeper. By all which it is perſpicuous and evident, that in all Republicks they were properly called Citizens that could plead a right to Office, and could give ſuffrage in the State; whereas he that wants theſe priviledges, is rather to be called Inhabitant, or Client, than Citizen. In Monarchies and Ariſtocracies thoſe are Citizens that are vertuous. In the latter, good and vertuous men only govern; in the former, one alone, that for Bounty, Liberality, and Magnificency excels all others. Thoſe people which are naturally Slaves, or wickedly debauched, do for the moſt part obey Tyrants, and that Government is called *Imperium deſpoticum*: Yet are not all they to be judged Slaves, that are encumbred with the power and oppreſſion of Tyrants, if they be not withall baſe minded and vicious. For we read of many Citizens that have freed themſelves and their Country from ſervitude, by ſlaying or expelling

the Tyrants; and if they found their expectations were herein fruſtrated, they choſe rather to loſe their lives than their Liberty, as *Brutus* and *Cato* did, with many other Romans. Thus we have given the deſcription and diviſion of the ancient States Popular, Republicks and Kingdoms; in the next Chapter we ſhall demonſtrate the new models of Government ſet up by the rebellious ſince the late unhappy wars between King and Parliament.

CHAP. IV.

The new-fangled Model of Modern Policy, being of three ſorts; a Protectordom, a Committeedom, and a Rumpdom; and firſt, of the Protectordom.

AS for that helliſh monſter, that damnable Machiavilian that firſt gave riſe to this ſame ſtrange and unheard-of Government; we ſhall ſay nothing tending either to his Parentage, Birth, or Education, becauſe we have reſerved that as a ſubject for another entire peece; only, that he might be ſaid to be a man of blouds, in the plural number, as *Zipporah* ſaid to her Huſband

band *Moſes:* Who butcher-like made cruelty his profeſſion, and was never better than when he had his Sword ſheathed in his Country-mens bowels; ſo that we may affirm, what ſucceeding Ages will unqueſtionably maintain:

——*Dicat de Tygride natum*
Poſteritas-----

An audacious Rebel, that durſt aſpire from the mean condition of a private perſon, to the Throne, though he firſt waſh'd his hands in the bloud of his Soveraign! He repreſented the real Tragedy of a King and no King; whoſe mouth water'd after that Title, but that he durſt not aſſume it, being he had fought ſo long againſt it, and was ſworn to the depoſition of all Kingſhip for the future.

He, to raiſe himſelf on the top of the Pyramid of honour, trampled over the heads of the moſt Loyal Subjects of the Realm; made a foot-ball of a Crown, and endeavoured utterly to extirpate the Royal Progeny, Root and Kind, Stem and Stock: Nay, I will be bold to ſay, if that an innocent Babe had been born with *Vive le Roy* in his mouth, he muſt have been food for his

Sword, as well as the first-born were for *Herods*. It is credibly reported, that *Hugh Peters*, that spiritual Dragooner, and *Nol*, hatch'd this Government as they were walking together in a field: a brace of pious Devils! They would carry the outward shew of sanctity, whenas all their actions proclaim'd them diabolical. There was never so furious an Incendiary, as this pious Pulpit-cuffer; nor no *Machiavel* more apt to receive the impression of infernal Counsel, who would sacrifice both soul and body to accomplish his own ends, or promote his self-interest. The whole Nation was enchained in a more than Ægyptian Bondage; who were compelled to submit to this Tyrant *Nol*, or be cut off by him; nothing but a word and a blow, his will was his Law; tell him of *Magna Charta*, he would lay his hand on his sword, and cry *Magna Farta:* No Liberty was granted to the Subject, unless it were that of Conscience; and that too was denied the more Orthodox and Loyal Party. The People were rob'd of all Laws, Rights and Priviledges, and sometimes of their Lives; whilst he, like a Tyrant, insulted with a *Quis contradicet?* The Citizens were so fleeced and pilled, that had this inhu-

inhumane barbarous wretch continued much longer, he had ſent *London* into the Country a begging. To ſay *God ſave the King*, was a crime as black as any forbidden in the *Decalogue:* but ſo long as that was prohibited publikely and privately, it was in vain to cry out, *God ſpeed the Plough*, or expect any bleſſing from the ſuperiour power. His infernal plots and machinations had wrought the utter ruine and deſolation of the Country, had not Providence divine cut him off, to the general benefit and rejoycing of the Nation. Engliſh ground groaned with the burthen of this inhumane Tyrant. It was not enough that the Engliſh ſhould be ſcourged, but the whip muſt lye before them; it was not ſufficient that he ſhould be the Author of all their woes while living, but they muſt live ſubject to his Tyranny and oppreſſion; and like ſo many mutes, condeſcend to all his actions by ſilence, not daring to mention the leaſt diſlike, though it thwarted their diſpoſition never ſo much. He was a rod of their own making, and they were content to untruſs whileſt he whipt them. In vain it was for the moſt accurate wit to plead Reaſon or Law againſt the Sword: the Tongue is too weak a weapon for the Dagger.

Dagger. During the uſurpation of this ſame helliſh Tyrant, what a Chaos of confuſion beſpread the face of the whole Nation? How was all the Land benegroed with more than the Egyptian darkneſs of perſecution? The whole Country was enveloped in clouds, and ruine hung over the heads of the people, by as ſlender a thread, as the Sword over the head of *Damocles* at the Banquet. The whole Land was entombed in deſpair, and little or no hope of a reſurrection, till a divine hand wrought it by his long-expected death: and it is the Cordial wiſh and hearty deſire of the loyal Pen-man, that all his Majeſties and the Kingdoms enemies were as ſtately interred as he was. Had he deſerved an Epitaph, we would have ſtretch'd hard but our brain ſhould have furniſhed him with one; but ſince he was ſo unworthy, we hold it as great a diſparagement to our quill to beſtow a Copy of Verſes on him, as he was a grief and trouble to the Loyal Party of the Nation. And indeed, how can any Son of *Phœbus* employ his time ſo ill, as to ſalute his dead corpſe with an Epitaph, that was ſo great an enemy to them when living; Who had a real deſign to extirpate all literature, and implunge us into as deep a gulph

gulph of ignorance and profaneneſs as the Turk is caſt into? he hated all Learning, and the Learned, becauſe his crimes were ſo black and horrid that they went far beyond the mercy of the Book. He granted a toleration for all Religions, becauſe his own was to chooſe; and that he might not offend the tender Conſciences of his pretended Zealots and Favourites, who were true Vaſſals to the Luſt and Villany of ſuch an imperious Uſurper. Honeſty was ſo much out of faſhion, that he that was vertuous was a Malefactor, and deſerved death; for Knavery was *à la mode*; and you know the old Saying, *It is as good to be out of the World, as out of the Faſhion.* An honeſt loyall Subject was as much hooted and pointed at, and judged as ridiculous an Object, as a Spaniſh *Don* in his Country Garb at *Paris*. An honeſt man was as ſtrange a ſight in *England*, as a Horſe in *Venice*, or a Beggar in *Holland*; and he was as like to be preferred to his favour, as a Spurrier was to Queen *Elizabeth*. But ſince he is in his grave, we will not rake up his aſhes any farther: if he can find any reſt there now dead, who living I am ſure had little or none in his conſcience; (for he ever carried a civil War in his breaſt, of fears, ſuſpicions and jealouſies)

jealouſies) he ſhall lie ſecure; for we intend to diſturb him no farther.

After the death of this Britiſh Idoll, *Richard* the fourth his Son peep'd out; who had no fault ſo great, as that he had him to his Father; for it was generally believed, he would be but Tenant to the Right Landlord, or the *Stuarts* Steward, to ſet all things in order till he was reſtored. But alas! he prov'd but a fortnights wonder; no ſooner up, but down; his depoſition (if we may credit report) was the womaniſh plot of weeping *Fleetwoods* Lady; who ſtomach'd it that his preferment ſhould be greater than her Husbands, though it proved to little purpoſe: & indeed, it is ſeldom known that female counſel ever arrives to any better ſucceſs; nor is there any reaſon that the Diſtaff ſhould be a companion for the Scepter. A Kitchin was a great deal more fit for her than a Throne, though ſhe had ambition enough to perſwade her ſelf that ſhe deſerved the name of a Princeſs.

Yet had *Richard* been heir of his Fathers parts (though it was well he was not) he would ſoon have fruſtrated all their deſigns, and come to as much height and greatneſs: But he had not enough of the Rogue in his Compoſition, to make up a damned

damned Politician. He was fitter to bear a Hawk on his Fiſt, than to hold a Scepter in his hand. A ſedentary, retired, Country-life, was far more ſuitable to his temper and diſpoſition, than a tumultuous City-life. He was altogether ignorant in that ſo much practiſed profeſſion of piecing the Lion with the Foxes tail; which no doubt he might have done, had he been as well read in *Machiavil* as his Sire was. He was not much read in Politicks, as appears by the ſmall term of time that was allotted him to play the Protector. But no matter, it was well it fell out ſo: he is like to fare the better for it, in the judgement of the moſt cenſorious. Beſides, it was what ſuited with his phancy (according to relation) better, than all the uſurped power and authority of his Predeceſſor. *Exit* Protector, he was but like a Pageant, a King in a Play; he only appears upon the Stage, makes a leg, and takes his leave of you: but what comes next? The State-*Groteſcoes* will ſoon reſolve you, the buſineſs is already hatch'd; room for a Committreedom, which being the ſecond branch of this tripartite Anarchy, challenges a place in the fifth Chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of a Committeedom.

WHen *Richard* (as the Major part of the Gentry do) had retired himſelf to his Country-houſe for a mouth-full of freſh Air, there ſtarts up another kind of Government, hatch'd by a Committee of Safety; (of ſlavery, they meant) who were a rude rabble of Factious, Illiterate, Phanatick, Diſloyal Rebels; a knot of *Knipperdolings*; of the ſame ſtamp with that German Botcher, *Jack-a-Leyden*: the very *merdaille* and excrementitious off-ſcouring of the Nation: during which time we might be ſaid to be the true *Antipodes*; for the Shooe was placed above the Head: and the Nation troubled with ſuch a State-Apoplexy, or Political Meagrim, that it would ſoon have reel'd to its deſtruction (being drunk with Rebellion) had not the Heavens made a reſtauration of our priſtine Laws and ancient Liberty, by the re-eſtabliſhment of our moſt gracious Soveraign, *Charles* the Second. Thus did they wheel about the Circumference of Government

vernment, till they hit upon the Center, *viz.* Monarchy. How like a ſenſeleſs body did the Nation lie, during this ſtrange unheard-of Government? Nor was it a wonder; for how can the Members live without their Head? Miſerable and deſpicable was the condition of the Natives, ſo that they became ridiculous to their Neighbours; Law lay bleeding, and Juſtice run quite contrary to her Inſtitution. Learning was of ſo ſmall eſteem and account, that it was thought an incumbrance and prejudice to him that could boaſt of it. Divinity was quite out of date; Churches were pulled down for Edification; To rob Cathedrals ſacrilegiouſly, was Piety; The Temple was converted into a Stable; ſo that it might well be ſaid, that Horſe and Man ſerv'd God alike. The Pulpits were hung with blew Aprons, and *Cheapſide* produced better Preachers than *Cambridge*. No Order nor *Decorum* in Gods houſe, but all things ſluttiſhly handled; as if the Queen of Sciences, Divinity, muſt be cloathed in filthy rags. As if the Father of Languages underſtood no Language but Engliſh, the Latine and Greek Fathers muſt not be quoted, but were almoſt come to the Chandlers ſhops to make waſte Paper.

No

No Prayer but what was by the Spirit: Bold audacious Villains, that dare aſcend the Pulpit, and there talk with God *ex tempore*. And indeed, moſt of theſe Spirit-mongers made moving Sermons: for not a man of underſtanding in the Church, but would go out before they had done. The Orthodox Clergy were diſ-reſpected, calumniated, reviled, impriſoned, and executed, what not? But why, or wherefore, no one knew: as ſqueamiſh as theſe Sectaries ſeemed to be, they could ſwallow down fat Benefices, and never diſgorge them. The Steeple-Houſes muſt down, they were ſuperſtitious buſineſſes; They ſay, their tender, I ſay, their large Conſciences prompted them to theſe ſacrilegious actions; and all for the promoting of their own filthy lucre and ſelf-intereſt; which made them convert thoſe Church-Utenſils that were conſecrated to Sacred uſes, to their own benefit and profit. Theſe foul fiends haunted ſacred grounds moſt, not out of devotion, but gain; Thus was it their dayly practice to learn to leap over Steeples: and whereas we uſed to ſay, *Lord encreaſe our Faith*; we might then heartily cry out and ſay, *Lord decreaſe our Faiths*; for we had then ſo many among us, that if a Jew or Pagan had come

o be converted among us, he would have ound as much difference in the outward eremony and preaching of the Word, as here is between our Tenets and theirs: Outward ſhew and oſtentation had almoſt worm'd out the Subſtance of Religion. But his Cockatrice (thanks to Heaven) was ruſht in the Shell; this prodigious birth rov'd abortive, almoſt as ſoon conſounded as conceived. Had we ſuffered thoſe Birds of prey to have been fledge (for they were but pin-feathered) it might have been aid in our Proverb, that *we brought up Birds o pick out our own eyes.* But they were all oon got by Lowbelling; theſe ſilly Woodocks were enſnared in a Gin laid by the Royal Party. Well may *Albion* acknowedge St *George* her Patron, ſince we have a Trinity of them to protect us; one St *George*, nd a brace of Sir *Georges*. This Committee-Conventicle of *Cacodæmons* was ſoon rackt and diſſolved; which hapned very ucceſsfully, for elſe the whole Nation had oon come to its diſſolution. If ever there was a Tower of *Babel*, ſure it was here then; or what could be ſaid of *England* more juſtly, than that it was a Land of Confuſion? Now the Anabaptiſts ſtrutted it *en cuerpo*; hey domineered as if they had been ſole

Masters of the Universe: And had liberty to broach their damnable and erroneous opinions in all places without controule: *Six days shalt thou labour*, that part of the Commandment they allowed; and *the seventh thou shalt teach*, that was their own addition; at work all the week, and a preaching on Sundaies. Surely the leaven of these Pharisees must be very strong, that can work a Cobler out of the Stall into the Pulpit; where you might see him thumb the Bible with his massey fist, and begins to pitch on a portion of Scripture, though he begin at the wrong end of the Book; and then like a Fugitive, runs away from the Text(and how can he do otherwise? for he is beside the Last.) *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*, was an ancient Proverb; but they neglected all antiquity so much, that they pulled down all Churches whose outside pronounced them ancient, and crept in holes and corners; which is enough to evince that they can never be registred *inter Angelos*, who were found so often *in Angulis*: but their deeds of darkness required such dark corners, who if they had appeared in the Light, had soon manifested their imbecility and villany: But now we may in the Juglers Dialect say, *Presto! Jack Lambert*

Lambert and his Legion of Hobgoblins are vaniſhed; *Ingoldsby* routed his Forces, and ſecured his Perſon; where now in the Tower he hath ſo much liberty (though confined) as to ſing a *Palinode* for his fore-paſt miſdemeanors, if he have but the grace to do ſo: his helliſh crew may wait for his deliverance by an Angel, as long as the Turks did for the Reſurrection of their *Mahomet*, and find themſelves at length miſerably deluded. All which may afford them matter of repentance, if they have but the knowledge to make a ſpiritual improvement of ſo gracious an opportunity. But as their reign was ſhort and of ſmall continuance, ſo will we be, ſuiting the diſcourſe to the matter diſcourſed on, and come to the third ſort of this new-fangled Government, which will take up the laſt Chapter.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Rumpdom.

THe Subject of this diſcourſe being concerning the Rump, we thought fit to place it in the Buttock of our Book, that

ſo we may come to an end by diſcourſing of an End, a Fag-end of Parliament, the Rump. It is credibly reported, that noble *Brown* was their Godfather, and beſtowed this name upon theſe Arſe-worms; which proves him to be as good a *Nomenclator* as *Adam*, who gave names according to the nature of the Beaſts that came before him; and ſo did he; which was, and will continue to be a brand upon them (notwithſtanding the Vote that paſt in the Houſe for a fifty pound forfeiture on every perſon that ſhould call them by that name) and their poſterity, ſo long as the Sun and Moon endures. Had he ſearched all the Dictionaries that ever were extant, he could never have found out a term more ſuitable for them. Had theſe beaſts been to enter the Ark, it would have puzzled *Noah* himſelf to have ſuited them into pairs.

This Rump was made up of a Rabble of rude, illiterate, rebellious fellows; a heap or cluſter of Mechanicks; that intended to reduce the Nation to as much ſlavery and ſervility, as they themſelves were born to. And firſt of all, let us nip *Heſilrig*; that wide-mouth'd fellow, that could ſwallow down Church and Biſhops Lands without any ſcruple or conſcience: ſo furious a Villain,

ain, that he was able to ſet a whole Kingdom in combuſtion: One, that would have made a Bonefire of the City, ſo that he might but have warm'd his hands thereby, rather than fail. So horrible a Mammoniſt, that he was reſolved to cram his Coffers, though he ſtarved his Conſcience: ſo that *Lord have mercy upon rich Sir A. Heſilrig a ſinner*, might have been the ſum of his Letany.

Desborow, that bloudy beef-brain'd wretch falls under our deſcription next; who was a State *Hay-gee-ho*, or Carter; and never ſhall come to the honour to be Waggoner to *Charles his Wain*; who ſtill thought, when he ſate in the Parliament, that he was whiſtling to the Country Teem; and therefore alwaies endeavoured to ride the Citizens, and make Aſſes of them. But indeed, to ſpeak truth, we cannot much blame the Man; for he was ever ſo much uſed to the Whip, that he muſt ſtill be laſhing whereever he came. Yet one would have thought he might have ſpit in his hand and took better hold; for now his Whip may prove like a Rod for his own Breech: But no matter, every School-boy could have told him, that the Rump uſed to pay for all faults; And he might have remembred that we have a Proverb runs thus, *The Pot goes not ſo often*

often to the water, but it comes broke home at laſt; which no doubt he will ſoon be made ſenſible of. But I am weary with whiſtling to this Brawny Boor.

Enter *Scot:* his very name implies treachery; *As treacherous as a Scot*, is old, though true; and may be appliable to him; for they are as true Types one of the other, as the Dragon of the Devil. A bitter enemy to Kingſhip he was, and one that had the impudence to affirm publikely (ſo report informs me) that he was one of the chiefeſt that ſate in the Higheſt Court of Injuſtice for the executing of *Charles* the firſt; and were it to do again, he would be as ready upon that deſign as ever. Sure he was ſome kin to a Tinker, he proves himſelf ſuch a man of metal.

Surge Harry Martin; ſhew thy ſmock-face: well might he be a Rumper, he delighted ſo much in the Tail. A lewd diſſolute fellow; fitter to walk before a party of Whores, than to lead up a Regiment of Horſe. This is one of that ſanctified Crew, that would procure any buſineſs to be done, if a female, from whom he might but expect a kindneſs, put up the Petition. But he was once handſomly fitted by a handſome Girl; which action made the name of Trepan

pan firſt known in *England:* His luſtful deſire, though unaccompliſhed, coſt two hundred pounds in ſawce; only they were ſo civil to beſtow a dinner of him, inviting ſome other of the Members of this mock-Parliament, only to divulge the frollick. Henceforth, *Harry*, take this advice as from a friend, Beware of all ſuch coſtly petitions, if ever it be thy hap to prefer any more.

But to dwell upon particulars thus, would require a Volume: I muſt haſten, ſince I am come to the end. Thus did *Nol* and the Rump play at Noſe in a——with the Nation, intending (as it is thought) to ſtink the People out of their dominions, and to remain with their Confederates Lords of Great *Britain*. As for the Rumpers, they provided a Scavenger to ſweep *London*-ſtreets; and he hath ſwept them away, and made the houſe clean for more deſerving Perſons. I wonder what benefit did ever accrew to the Nation by their Acts and Ordinances; or when did they ever attempt any thing, but, Tinker-wiſe, in mending one hole they made three? All their conſultations tended only to their own preferment. A knot of gnawing Vermine, that fed upon the fat of the Land; A Company of Book-worms, who, becauſe ignorant

rant themſelves, were reſolved to deſtroy all Learning, and implunge the People into an Abyſs of Brutiſhneſs and Barbariſm: and make them ſubſcribe to, and approve of whatſoever their dunghil ſpirits prompted them to. But I muſt draw to a period. This New-fangled Model you have under the notion of *Modern Policy* (though it is a favour to call it ſo) for *Rebellion* it ſhould be; but I was unwilling to front my Page with ſo formidable a Title. For the Nation hath been too too long ſenſible of the heavy effects of Rebellion; which have lighted ſomewhat hard upon their ſhoulders. The latter part of this Piece, I confeſs, differs from the former, as much as *Heraclitus* from *Democritus*; yet it is no offence, I preſume, (if I may be thought a ſufficient Apothecary) to put a ſcruple of mirth into a doſe of ſerioufneſs; wherefore I ſhall conclude with what I ever made my Motto,

——*Non ſiria ſemper.*

FINIS.